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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION
AND
BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS
AND
WORK PROJECTS ADMINISTRATION
AND
VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE
COOPERATING

Standards of Living in Six Virginia Counties

BY DWIGHT M. DAVIDSON, JR.
AND B. L. HUMMEL



SOCIAL RESEARCH REPORT NO. XV

WASHINGTON, D. C., MARCH 1940

In order that administrators might be supplied with needed information concerning the problems and conditions with which its program is concerned, the Resettlement Administration (absorbed September 1, 1937, by the Farm Security Administration) with the cooperation of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics conducted a number of research investigations. This is one of a series of reports on these researches. Others will be made available to administrators of programs for the welfare of rural people as rapidly as they are completed. This series is composed of the following reports:

- I. An Analysis of Methods and Criteria Used in Selecting Families for Colonization Projects, by John B. Holt.
- II. Tenure of New Agricultural Holdings in Several European Countries, by Erich Kraemer.
- III. Living Conditions and Population Migration in Four Appalachian Counties, by L. S. Dodson.
- IV. Social Status and Farm Tenure - Attitudes and Social Conditions of Corn Belt and Cotton Belt Farmers, by E. A. Schuler.
- V. Family Selection on a Federal Reclamation Project - Tule Lake Division of the Klamath Irrigation Project, Oregon-California, by Marie Jasny.
- VI. A Basis for Social Planning in Coffee County, Alabama, by Karl Shafer.
- VII. Influence of Drought and Depression on a Rural Community - A Case Study in Haskell County, Kansas, by A. D. Edwards.
- VIII. Disadvantaged Classes in American Agriculture, by Carl C. Taylor, Helen W. Wheeler, and E. L. Kirkpatrick.
- IX. Analysis of 70,000 Rural Rehabilitation Families, by E. L. Kirkpatrick.
- X. Standards of Living in Four Southern Appalachian Mountain Counties, by C. P. Loomis and L. S. Dodson.
- XI. Standards of Living of the Residents of Seven Rural Resettlement Communities, by C. P. Loomis and Dwight M. Davidson, Jr.
- XII. The Standard of Living of Farm and Village Families in Six South Dakota Counties, 1935, by W. F. Kumlien, C. P. Loomis, et al. (Published by the South Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station, Brookings, South Dakota.)
- XIII. Standards of Living in the Great Lakes Cut-Over Area, by C. P. Loomis, Joseph J. Lister, and Dwight M. Davidson, Jr.
- XIV. Standards of Living in an Indian-Mexican Village and on a Reclamation Project, by C. P. Loomis and O. E. Leonard.
- XV. Standards of Living in Six Virginia Counties, by Dwight M. Davidson, Jr. and B. L. Hummel.
- XVI. Social Relationships and Institutions in an Established Rurban Community, South Holland, Illinois, by L. S. Dodson.
- XVII. Migration and Mobility of Rural Population in the United States, by Conrad Taeuber and C. E. Lively.
- XVIII. Social Relationships and Institutions in Seven New Rural Communities, by C. P. Loomis.

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Acknowledgment is due Charles P. Loomis, for the preparation of schedules and for technical supervision; J. A. McAleer, for supervision of the field work and much of the tabulation; and C. R. Wasson, for assistance in tabulation and analysis.

FOREWORD

This is the last of a series of six reports on levels-of-living studies, the field work of which was done in 1935. The data were gathered by WFA workers supervised by technically trained persons. The findings from the other five studies have been published in Social Research Reports X, XI, XII, XIII, and XIV of this series. Report XII appears as Bulletin No. 320, The Standard of Living of Farm and Village Families in Six South Dakota Counties, 1935, of the South Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station. These six studies do not constitute a systematic sampling of the rural areas of the United States. The same techniques and technologies were used in the conduct of all six studies, but that is the only common denominator which they have.

This study is based upon something approaching a systematic sampling of the various rural areas of Virginia, in that six carefully selected areas were studied. As in the case of the other studies, the data pertain almost altogether to those physical elements in the standard of living which can be measured by monetary expenditures. The reader should be cautioned, therefore, against the implication that the standards of living of farm families in the six sample areas vary in direct relation to the levels of living as measured by these material criteria.

The reader will be interested in comparing the findings of this report with the five other standard-of-living studies in this series: "Standards of Living in Four Southern Appalachian Mountain Counties," by C. P. Loomis and L. S. Dodson; "Standards of Living of the Residents of Seven Rural Resettlement Communities," by C. P. Loomis and Dwight M. Davidson, Jr.; "The Standard of Living of Farm and Village Families in Six South Dakota Counties, 1935," by W. F. Kumlion, C. P. Loomis, and others; "Standards of Living in the Great Lakes Cut-Over Area," by C. P. Loomis, Joseph J. Lister, and Dwight M. Davidson, Jr.; and "Standards of Living in an Indian-Mexican Village and on a Reclamation Project," by C. P. Loomis and O. E. Leonard.

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STANDARDS OF LIVING IN SIX VIRGINIA COUNTIES

By Dwight M. Davidson, Jr. and B. L. Hummel

Summary

(1) This study was conducted in six counties of Virginia in an effort to supplement existing knowledge of the levels of living and consumption behavior of various segments of the population. The principal index used was the total value of goods and services consumed for family-living purposes.

(2) Forty-six percent of the 1,730 farm families and 44 percent of the 761 urban families included in the study reported a total value of living for 1935 that was less than \$1,000.

(3) The average value of all goods used by the farm families for family living was \$1,130, 44 percent of which was furnished. For the town families this value was \$1,332, 14 percent of which was furnished. As measured by the value-of-living index, differences between the tenure groups were large. The farm owners reported an average of \$1,249; the renters, \$946; and the croppers, \$719. Urban families who owned their dwellings reported an average value of family living of \$1,558, while those residing in rented dwellings reported \$1,153.

(4) Food was a more important item in the rural than in the urban family-living budget inasmuch as 41 percent of the former, as compared with 29 percent of the latter, was devoted to this item. But there was relatively little difference in the value of food consumed per capita by the two groups.

(5) In all residence and tenure groups the proportion of the total family budget allocated to food decreased as the total value of living increased and the proportions allocated to maintenance and operation of the family automobile, to health, births, and deaths, and to advancement increased as the value of living increased.

(6) For farm families of all tenure groups operating more than 10 acres a positive correlation tended to exist between the number of acres operated and the total value of family living.

(7) A greater proportion of the urban than of the farm families reported such household facilities and conveniences as radios, telephones, and running water. In the open-country groups more of the owners than of the tenants reported these, and in both residence groups more were reported by the families with a higher value of living.

(8) Families in the tobacco counties, Halifax and Prince Edward, and the southwestern county, Wythe, reported an average value of housing and maintenance that was low in comparison with that of other counties.

(9) There was a positive correlation between the amount spent for clothing and the total value of living, but there was no consistent trend in the proportion allocated by the various groups.

(10) An increase in the total value of living of the croppers appears to be contingent to a greater extent upon production for home use than was true for the other groups.

(11) As measured by the value of living, the difference between the farm renter and the farm cropper was greater than the difference between the owner and the renter in Halifax, Nansemond, and Wythe - counties of dissimilar characteristics. Owners in the western counties produced a greater proportion of the total value of living than those in the tobacco and the peanut areas.

(12) There was a definite relationship between the duration of marriage and the total value of goods and services consumed. As the length of the marriage union and the ability to command economic goods increased, it appeared that the families attempted to strengthen or increase status through greater emphasis in the family budget upon certain items that would give tangible evidence of this increase.

(13) The average amount of savings and investments for the farm families was \$102; in the towns it was \$168. The owners reported an average of \$118, the renters \$79, and the croppers \$36. Savings accounted for the largest proportion of total investments in both residence groups. Town families placed greater proportions in insurance, stocks, and other investments than did rural families.

(14) There appeared to be a definite relationship between the duration of marriage, the tenure status of the farm operator, and the number of acres operated. Farm croppers and renters who were related to their landlords were generally those who had been married for a relatively short time.

(15) As measured by the total value of goods and services consumed, the poorer renters appeared to be relatively better situated than the poorer land owners.

(16) Urban families devoted more time to leisure activities than did farm families. Time allotted to these activities ranged from an average of 2.6 hours per day for the farm operator to 4.6 hours for the urban homemaker.

(17) Male heads of urban families, with slightly higher formal educational attainments, spent an average of 6 hours per week reading, or approximately 2 hours more per week than the male head of the farm family.

(18) During 1935 the farm families reported that they read an average of 6.8 State bulletins and 5.3 Federal bulletins. Sixteen percent of the families either owned or borrowed a State bulletin during the year, and 10 percent either owned or borrowed a Federal bulletin.

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

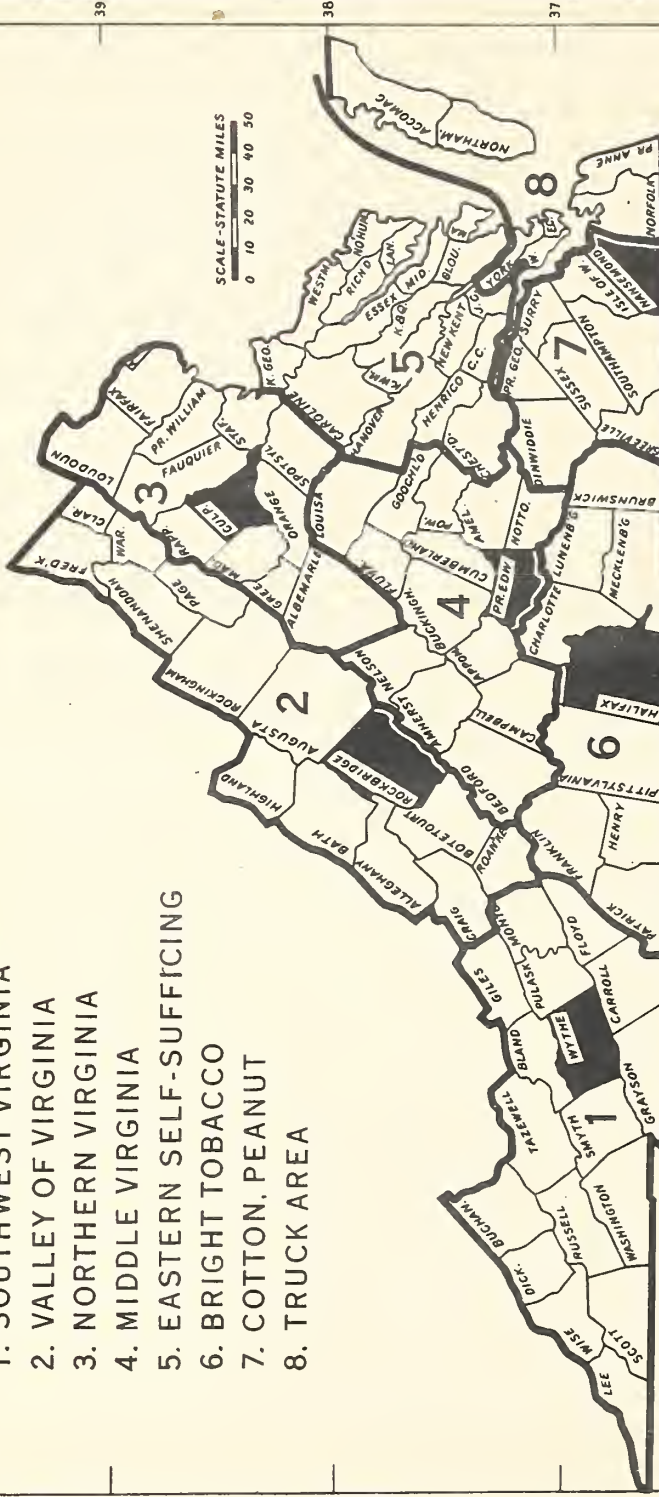
Events of recent years have encouraged the focusing of attention by public and private agencies upon agriculture. Ostensibly, this emphasis has resulted in concerted efforts to aid the farm group to combat the effects of an economic depression and to attempt compensatory measures for the existent maladjustment between the rural and urban economies. A complementary result of centering such attention upon the farm has been a greater emphasis upon and interest in the "farmer's level of living" since most of the measures adopted have, in the final analysis, had direct implications upon the farmer's way of life. Any program, regardless of its direct purpose, must take cognizance of the habits and behavior of the group to be affected. Yet, relatively few quantitative data pertaining to the rural level of living have been available and only recently have significant efforts been made to know more of the level of living of various segments of the farm population. Studies of groups in various geographical and cultural areas not only add to the comparatively limited fund of knowledge, but may furnish the basis for evaluating action programs before and after their inception and incidence. This study of a selected sample of farm families in six counties of Virginia - Culpeper, Halifax, Nansmond, Prince Edward, Rockbridge, and Lytle - represents an additional effort to supplement the existing data concerning living behavior of given segments of the farm population.

Inasmuch as interpretations and delineations of the term "standard of living" are diverse, there has been inevitable variation in the focal points of interest in studies of this type. Various techniques have been employed in an effort to devise a measure of the relative well-being of given groups of people, yet such studies usually revert to an analysis of the income and expenditures of the family.^{1/} Income, as such, has not received prime consideration in the analysis, but the distribution of available income among principal expenditure items - specifically among goods and services consumed for family-living purposes - has been of great importance. This type of analysis, the type also employed in this study, implies neither a measure of adequacy nor an evaluation in relation to some "sanctioned social end." Rather, it represents an effort to show the family-living behavior of a given sample of people under specific influences as measured by the total value of goods and services consumed and the proportionate distribution of this total.

Although the extent of ultimate human satisfactions cannot be measured, some aspects of the non-material phases of family welfare can be

^{1/} Black, John D., and Zimmerman, C. C., Research in Farm Family Living, Scope and Method, Social Science Research Council, New York, April 1938.

1. SOUTHWEST VIRGINIA
2. VALLEY OF VIRGINIA
3. NORTHERN VIRGINIA
4. MIDDLE VIRGINIA
5. EASTERN SELF-SUFFICING
6. BRIGHT TOBACCO
7. COTTON, PEANUT
8. TRUCK AREA



Counties surveyed

*AS DELINEATED IN AGRICULTURAL PROGRAM PLANNING OF VIRGINIA

projected by an analysis of certain items of expenditure. The inclusion of data pertaining to certain social and cultural behavior of the family also compensates the possible over-emphasis upon the economic aspects of family living.

Scope

The present study of sample families in six widely separated counties in Virginia (Fig. 1) was made through the joint cooperation of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, the Work Projects Administration, ^{2/} the Farm Security Administration, and the Virginia Polytechnic Institute. Through a field investigation ^{3/} made in the early part of 1936 a total of 2,491 usable income and expenditure records of white families for the preceding year, 1935, were obtained. ^{4/} Although primary interest was focused upon farm-family living, the study was expanded to include comparable data from town and village families in those same counties and thereby to yield a comparison between rural and urban living behavior as measured by the total value of goods and services consumed. Of these schedules 1,730 (69 percent) were secured from white families on open-country farms and 761 (31 percent) from white families residing in urban areas (Table 1).

Table 1.- Number of white families studied in selected areas, by residence and tenure, Virginia, 1935

County surveyed	:	:	Open country				Town		
			Total	Owners	Renters	Croppers	Total	Owners	Renters
Total			2,491	1,730	1,176	385	169	761	424
Culpeper			356	225	172	41	12	131	63
Halifax			470	320	174	127	19	150	114
Nansemond			377	225	141	64	20	152	87
Prince Edward			412	324	213	46	65	88	47
Rockbridge			368	277	202	54	21	91	47
Wythe			350	275	210	39	26	75	33
Additional areas			158	84	64	14	6	74	33

^{2/} This report is based on work done under the Virginia Work Projects Administration (formerly Works Progress Administration), official project 465-31-3-133 and previous projects.

^{3/} Field enumeration was done by specially qualified enumerators who had passed a special examination to test their fitness for this particular work.

^{4/} In Nansemond, Prince Edward, and Halifax Counties 292 urban and rural Negro families were also interviewed. The results of this phase of the study will be published in a subsequent report.

Outside the six selected counties the enumerators secured 158 additional schedules from white families (84 on farms and 74 in towns and villages), primarily as a check upon techniques employed in the sample areas. Inasmuch as subsequent analysis showed these schedules to be comparable with those of the larger segment, they have been used in this report to increase the size and application of the sample.

The State

Since its settlement Virginia has been largely dependent upon agriculture. In 1930 its rural farm population comprised 39 percent, or about two out of every five, of all persons in the State.^{5/} For the most part, Virginia farms represent many types of agriculture but do not show a well balanced diversity of crops; in fact, it has been observed that "perhaps in no other State have the farming methods resulted in as many one-crop systems as in Virginia - Irish and Sweet Potatoes on the Eastern Shore, truck crops around Norfolk, peanuts of South side, tobacco of South Central, beef in Southwest and apples in part of the valley." ^{6/} Concurrently, farm units vary greatly in size from the small subsistence and part-time farm to the very large commercial farm.

Further indication of the diversity of agriculture in Virginia may be found in the delineation of the rural farm population of the United States into cultural regions. Mangus, in his study of cultural areas, placed the Virginia farm population in four major regions; the western part of the State was partially in the Allegheny and partially in the Appalachian regions while the eastern part was classified in the Chesapeake-Albemarle and Eastern Old South regions. Each area displayed characteristics unlike the others and each was further delineated into subregions. ^{7/}

The County Agriculture Program Planning work in the State has been based largely upon a further delineation of the counties into eight clearly defined social and economic areas. ^{8/} Six of these are represented in this study.

I. Southwest Virginia includes the bluegrass mountain region with some coal-mining areas. This area is characterized as a mountainous grazing and general farming area. From this region Wythe County was selected for study.

^{5/} Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Population, V. 2.

^{6/} Jones, Jesse M., The Development of Agriculture in Virginia, Virginia Polytechnic Institute Bulletin No. 52, Blacksburg, March 1919.

^{7/} Mangus, A. R., Cultural Regions within the Rural-Farm Population, Rural Section, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., July 1938.

^{8/} County Agricultural Program Planning, Group Discussion Leaflet No. 1, Agricultural Extension Division, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg, January 1939.

II. The Valley of Virginia includes the rather narrow but fertile valley between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghenies. "The Valley" is broken by many spurs and the foot hills from the mountains on either side. This is a heavy commercial fruit, poultry, and livestock section but general farming still predominates. Rockbridge County, in the southern part of "The Valley," was included in this study.

III. Northern Virginia constitutes a large part of what is known as the "Washington Milk Shed." Commercial dairying and the production of light horses provide sources of income on many of the larger and better farms. Grain and livestock production predominates on most other farms. This area is represented in the study by Culpeper County.

IV. Middle Virginia, a part of the larger Piedmont Area, is the "old tobacco belt" of Virginia. Dark tobacco still provides an important source of income in some counties. Prince Edward County was selected for the study of levels of living.

V. The Eastern Self-Sufficing Area with a large number of small and some part-time farms was not represented in the sample.

VI. The Bright Tobacco Area is also in the larger Piedmont but is characterized by the production of this special type of tobacco. Soils are depleted, acreages are small, and tenancy is unusually high. Halifax County represents this area.

VII. The Peanut-Cotton Area consists of counties in the southeastern section of the State. For the most part crop-specialty farms prevail and here, too, there is a high proportion of tenancy. Nansemond County was selected for the survey.

VIII. The Truck-Commercial Area, in the extreme southeastern corner of the State, is the smallest of the eight areas. This area is divided into three parts by the Chesapeake Bay, Hampton Roads, and the James River. No county was included in this study.

Recent years have brought noticeable changes in Virginia agriculture. Pressure from a complexity of causes has resulted in an increase in the proportion of small farms, a noticeable decrease in farms of over 100 acres, and a decrease even in those of medium size (Table 2.) In many cases loss or curtailment of industrial employment has forced an increased dependency upon agricultural pursuits. 9/ Some families have returned to small holdings while others who have lived on small sections of land while engaged in wage-earning occupations have increased agricultural operations to the extent that according to census definitions they are classified as farmers. Even so, in the State as a whole the increase in the number of

9/ Hurrell, B. L., and Hummel, R. B., Part-Time Farming in Virginia, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg, Virginia, 1938.

Table 2.- Percentage distribution of farms in Virginia for 1925; 1930, and 1935 and for 6 selected counties for 1935, by size of farm

Size of farm : Census for State of Virginia : 6 selected counties, 1935					
in acres	: 1925	: 1930	: 1935	: Census	: Sample 1/
Number of farms	193,723	170,610	197,632	15,994	1,730
Percentages reporting -					
Under 3 acres	0.1	0.3	0.3	0.3	4.9
3 - 9	11.0	7.7	13.2	11.3	8.0
10 - 19	13.5	11.6	13.0	11.6	9.5
20 - 49	24.2	24.2	22.8	21.7	18.1
50 - 99	21.8	23.6	21.8	23.2	22.6
100 - 174	16.8	18.3	16.0	18.4	20.2
175 - 259	6.7	7.3	6.7	7.4	9.1
260 - 499	4.4	5.1	4.5	4.5	6.2
500 - 999	1.2	1.5	1.3	1.2	1.2
1,000 and over	.3	.4	.4	.4	.2

Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, V. 2, part 2.

United States Census of Agriculture, 1935.

1/ Includes only white operators.

small farms during this period has not been so great as in some other prescribed areas. 10/ Despite the fact that almost one-half the farms in Virginia have less than 50 acres total (an increase of 5 percent over 1930) and less than 20 acres under cultivation the large farm still remains an important factor in the agriculture of the State.

The Sample

Selection of the six counties for study was made on the basis of available economic and social data. The size of the farms, the proportion of tenancy, the proportion of land in farms, the ratio of rural farm to rural non-farm population, value of dwellings, and the percentage of Negro population were considered in the determination. Within each county, insofar as possible, one or more magisterial districts were chosen for complete coverage. The ones so chosen represented most nearly the characteristic variation from the county average in respect to these items or were most representative in regard to largest number of the selected items. Few families within the selected districts failed to cooperate with the enumerators in the survey.

10/ Loomis, C. P., and Dodson, L. S., Standards of Living in Four Southern Appalachian Counties, Social Research Report No. X., U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., October 1938; Dodson, L. S., Living Conditions and Population Migration in Four Appalachian Counties, Social Research Report No. III, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C., October 1937.

In each county family-living schedules for the urban group were secured from the inhabitants of several comparatively large towns and small villages. The larger towns included in the sample were: Culpeper, in the county of the same name; Wytheville, in Wythe County; Lexington, in Rockbridge County; Farmville, in Prince Edward; Suffolk, in Nansemond; and South Boston, in Halifax. In the larger towns the block sample method, with emphasis upon the selection of representative sections, was employed. In the smaller villages, many of which were unincorporated, as many representative schedules as possible were secured. Cooperation of the urban families, particularly the more well-to-do families, was not so great as that received in rural areas.

As previously pointed out, the most recent Census of Agriculture showed an increase in the proportion of small farms in Virginia, particularly of those under 10 acres (Tables 2 and 3). In 1935, 14 percent of all farms in the State had less than 10 acres, whereas in the six counties of the survey about 12 percent were in this same acreage group. The proportion of sample families who resided on farms of this size was 13 percent. Almost 50 percent of the farms in the State had less than 50 acres, but in the selected counties as a whole this proportion was 45 percent and among the sample families it was 40 percent. ^{11/} The sample showed a much greater proportion of families on farms of from 100 to 500 acres (35 percent) than the census distribution showed for the six counties (30 percent) or for the State as a whole (27 percent). Thus, as compared with the census distribution, the sample showed a possible over-enumeration of the small units under 3 acres and of those with from 100 to 500 acres, and a slight under-representation of the smaller farms with from 3 to 80 acres.

Tenancy was more prevalent in the six survey counties than in the entire State (Table 4). Seventy-two percent of all State operators were classified as owners, as compared with 64 percent in the six counties. However, three of the counties - Culpeper, Rockbridge, and Wythe, all of which are in the western portion of the State - have a relatively low rate of tenancy. The remaining three, with high tenancy rates, are counties in which crop-specialty farms predominate: tobacco in Halifax and Prince Edward and cotton and peanuts in Nansemond. Of the sample families 68 percent were classified as owners, a proportion that was slightly higher than that for the six counties and somewhat lower than that for the State as a whole. In Halifax and Nansemond Counties, where tenancy was relatively high, the sample showed an over-representation of owners; in Rockbridge, Culpeper, and Wythe the proportion of families classified as owners in the sample was lower than the census distribution. Despite some relatively small discrepancies within the individual counties the tenure distribution of the sample families was comparable with that of the census for the six counties. In all tenure groups the proportionate distribution of the sample fell between that for the six counties and that for the State.

^{11/} The sample included only white operators while census data pertain to both white and Negro.

Table 3.- Distribution of farms in Virginia and 6 selected counties, by size of farm, 1920, 1930, and 1935

Percentages of farms having specified number of acres								
Year:	Under 10	:	10 - 99	:	100 - 259	:	260 or more	
	State:6 counties	:	State:6 counties	:	State:6 counties	:	State:6 counties	
1935	13.6		11.6		57.6		56.5	22.7
1930	8.0		8.1		59.4		58.5	25.6
1920	7.8		7.4		59.3		57.0	25.8

United States Census of Agriculture, 1935.
Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, V. 2, part 2.

Table 4.- Distribution of white farm operators in Virginia and in 6 selected counties of Virginia, by tenure, 1935

Item	:	Total :	Percentage in each tenure group			
			number :	Owners	: Renters	: Croppers : Managers
State		154,421		71.5	19.9	7.9 0.7
6 counties:						
Census		11,354		64.3	23.2	11.8 .7
Sample		1,730		68.0	22.2	9.8 -
Culpeper:						
Census		1,232		78.4	15.4	2.9 2.3
Sample		225		76.5	18.2	5.3 -
Halifax:						
Census		3,565		44.2	36.6	19.1 .1
Sample		320		54.4	39.7	5.9 -
Mansemond:						
Census		1,163		55.6	33.6	9.6 1.2
Sample		225		62.7	28.4	8.9 -
Prince Edward:						
Census		934		65.7	20.8	12.7 .8
Sample		324		65.7	14.2	20.1 -
Rockbridge:						
Census		2,237		78.5	15.5	5.6 .4
Sample		277		72.9	19.5	7.6 -
Wythe:						
Census		2,223		78.1	9.2	11.7 1.0
Sample		275		76.4	14.2	9.4 -

United States Census of Agriculture, 1935.

White operators in Virginia operated an average of 101 acres in 1935, while those in the six counties alone operated an average of 112 acres (Table 5). The families included in the sample reported an average of 106. However, 71 percent of all farms in the State, 68 percent in the six counties, and 63 percent in the sample had less than 100 acres (Table 2).

Comparison of other census data for further orientation of the sample showed that the value of products sold, traded, and used by the sample families was less than the average in 1929 for the State or the six counties. The sample therefore tends to minimize rather than to exaggerate the income of white farm families. The sample families, however, did report a slightly higher average value of products used by the family than did the census (Table 5).

Families included in the survey appeared to have better housing facilities than did the residents of the six selected counties or of the State generally, as indicated by the value of the dwelling and the presence of certain household facilities (Table 5). The average value of the dwelling of rural families included in the sample was \$1,650, or \$612 higher than the census value for the six counties and \$424 higher than the State average in 1930 for open-country families. ^{12/} A much greater proportion of the sample families than of those reporting for the 1930 census had homes equipped with electricity and running water. A difference of five years could obviously result in an increased proportion of the homes with such facilities. Of the houses in 10 counties of Virginia included in a recent study of farm housing in the United States, 11 percent had electric lights and 11 percent had water piped into the dwelling. ^{13/} These figures are somewhat higher than those reported in the census five years earlier for the State but are comparable with the proportions found in this study.

On the basis of the method of selection and comparability with available census data, there is no reason to believe that a representative sample of the white farm population has not been secured. With the exception of the extreme eastern part of the State, the major farming areas are represented. The selected counties may show a relatively high level of living since each is to some extent a "key" county with a major trading center. Inasmuch as agriculture in Virginia includes many diverse types, and since this report includes only data on white farm families, these qualifications must be borne in mind when projecting the analysis of these data.

^{12/} Some differences may have been due to variations in enumeration methods. See Leonard, Olen E., The Enumerator and the Farm Operator Place a Value on the Farm Dwelling, Rural Sociology, Vol. 3, No. 4, December 1938, p. 446.

^{13/} The Farm-Housing Survey, Extension Service and Office of the Secretary, Miscellaneous Publication No. 323, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., March 1939.

Table 5.- Comparison of the State of Virginia, 6 selected counties, and the sample, with regard to specific items, 1930 and 1935

Item	:	:	Census	
			6 counties :	State
	Sample	families	studied	
Average value:				
All farm products sold, traded, or used by operator's family, 1930 <u>1/</u>	\$ 995		\$1,221	\$1,252
Farm products used by operator, 1930 <u>1/</u>	363		282	307
Farm dwelling, 1930 <u>1/</u>	1,650		1,038	1,226
Land and buildings, 1935 (white operators) <u>2/</u>	4,090		3,589	3,540
Averages:				
Size of farm in acres, 1935 (white) <u>2/</u>	105.5		111.6	101.1
Number of persons per farm, 1935 (white) <u>2/</u>	-		5.3	5.4
Percentages:				
Tenants, 1930 (white) <u>3/</u>	-		35.0	25.1
Tenants, 1935 (white) <u>2/</u>	32.0		35.0	27.8
All land in farms, 1935 <u>2/</u>	-		76.6	68.5
Increase in farm population, 1930-35 <u>2/</u>	-		2.0	11.0
Farms with -				
Electricity, 1930 <u>3/</u>	11.2		5.5	7.6
Telephones, 1930 <u>3/</u>	17.3		16.2	17.8
Water piped in, 1930 <u>3/</u>	11.2		7.2	9.0

1/ Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, V. 3, part 2.

2/ United States Census of Agriculture, 1935.

3/ Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, V. 2, part 2.

While orientation of the sample has been confined to the rural segment of the study, it is believed that the method of selection employed resulted in a representative sample in the urban group. Throughout the analysis, residence and tenure distinctions have been maintained to facilitate comparisons. In making the comparison, cognizance of the differences in the factors and the influences conditioning the behavior of the various groups must be made. Particularly should this be observed when rural and urban groups are compared.

Chapter II

VALUE OF FAMILY LIVING AND HOUSING FACILITIES

All Goods and Services Used

Determination of the relative well-being of a group of families by means of an analysis of the family budget places major emphasis upon the total value of family living, or, expressed in another way, upon the value of all goods and services consumed by the family to meet its living requirements. ^{14/} In this study the total value of living refers to the monetary value of all goods and services consumed for the maintenance of the family, regardless of whether those goods were or were not obtained by direct cash outlay. ^{15/} This total value, as the term is here used, does not include any investments or savings that may have been made by the family; it more nearly represents net cash income less investments and savings, plus the value of goods and services furnished by the farm.

Total Value of Living of Open-Country and Town Families

Open-country-farm families in the six sample counties in Virginia reported an average of \$1,130 for goods and services consumed during 1935, as compared with \$1,332 for the town families. The average value of living for the rural families ranged from \$719 for the croppers ^{16/} to \$1,249 for the owners, while owner families in the towns reported an average value of \$1,558, or \$405 more than the renters (Table 6). ^{17/} Where there is such diversity as exists in Virginia agriculture it is imperative to note that about one-half the rural families had a total value of living of less than \$1,000 and 12 percent reported a total value of more than \$2,000 (Table 7). Only 7 percent of the white open-country families reported values of less than \$500, but 24 percent reported less than \$750. Fifty percent reported from \$750 to \$1,499, leaving 26 percent ranging above this limit. The range of the distribution of the families according to total value of living was such that the weight of cases on the upper limit had significant influence upon the mean figure.

^{14/} The family as here considered includes parents and children of present or previous union or foster children who are unattached to a secondary family. The calculation of the number of persons was based upon the proportion of the year spent in the family by each member. For example, a person living in the family during the entire year counted as one individual, a person living in the family six months counted as half an individual, etc.

^{15/} See appendix, Methodological Note, for an explanation of terms and methods used in the study.

^{16/} A "cropper" is a farmer who operates only rented land and to whom the landlord furnishes all the work animals; that is, a farm operator who contributes only his labor and receives in return a share of the crop. A "renter" is a farmer who operates hired land only, furnishing all or part of the working equipment and stock whether he pays cash or a share of the crop or both as rent. In many instances in this study the differences between the share renters and croppers were slight. Some of the farm operators who have been classified as croppers may also have the characteristics of the share renter.

^{17/} The tenure distinction for the town and the village families was based solely upon home ownership.

Among the town families, 45 percent reported a value of living of less than \$1,000; however, there was much difference between the two residence groups in the proportion of the families in the upper and lower value groups (Table 7). Whereas 5 percent of the urban families reported a value of living of less than \$400, only 3 percent of the farm families were in that group. Furthermore, a value of living that exceeded \$2,500 was reported by 10 percent of the urban families, or about twice the proportion of the farm group reporting a value of living above this amount. Thus, there is indication that on a comparative basis there are more very poor and more very well-to-do families in an urban than in a rural environment. The distribution of the urban families according to the total value of living and the higher average value for the urban as compared with the rural group is in accord with the general theory of the influence of urbanization and industrialization upon the level of living. Theoretically, the influence of these factors will result in a much wider range in the value of living and the weight of these near the upper limits of the distribution will have significant influence upon the average.

On the basis of tenure classification 39 percent of the farm owners, 54 percent of the renters, and 75 percent of the croppers reported a total value of living of less than \$1,000. About the same proportion of the urban owners as of the farm owners reported less than \$1,000, but 50 percent of the urban renters were in those lower brackets. Renters in both residence groups exhibited less variation and tended to be concentrated in the middle value groups (Table 7).

Open-country families reported approximately 44 percent as that part of the total value which was furnished by the home farm, but the town families reported only 14 percent (Table 6). Obviously, the farm family, as a food-producing unit with a greater working force than the urban family, should show a greater proportion of the family-living goods as furnished. As the food furnished by the town families was limited primarily to that which might be obtained from a small kitchen garden, the amount reported was relatively small. Most of the fuel, too, was purchased by this group. Thus, that part of family living furnished by the town families consisted largely of "housing furnished." ^{18/} But even this item had only a limited influence, for over one-half the urban families were renters. In the open country, cropper families furnished 52 percent of all goods and services consumed, whereas the owners and the renters furnished 42 and 45 percent respectively. Although those designated as croppers furnished a greater proportion of the family living, they reported a lower total average value of living than the other tenure groups; similarly, the renters reported a lower average value than the owners.

The total value of living of urban families showed much more variation between counties than was true for the farm families. The range was

^{18/} See appendix, Methodological Note, for explanation of the method employed in determining the value of "housing furnished."

Table 7.- Distribution of families studied, by total value of family living, residence, and tenure, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Total value of family living:	Open country			Town		
	Total	Owners	Renters	Total	Owners	Renters
Number of cases	1,730	1,176	385	169	761	424
Under \$200	4	3		1	6	2
\$ 200 - \$299	14	8	1	5	15	8
\$ 300 - 399	32	15	6	11	15	5
\$ 400 - 499	72	38	17	17	35	16
\$ 500 - 749	297	155	87	55	133	89
\$ 750 - 999	375	242	96	37	137	92
\$1,000 - 1,499	493	342	119	32	205	132
\$1,500 - 1,999	234	181	42	11	89	42
\$2,000 - 2,499	116	103	13		51	17
\$2,500 - 2,999	43	41	2		30	9
\$3,000 - 4,999	43	41	2		27	12
\$5,000 and over	7	7			18	18
Cumulative percentages:						
Under \$200	0.2	0.3		0.6	0.8	0.5
\$ 200 - \$299	1.0	.9	0.3	3.6	2.8	2.4
\$ 300 - 399	2.9	2.2	1.8	10.1	4.7	3.5
\$ 400 - 499	7.1	5.4	6.2	20.1	9.3	7.3
\$ 500 - 749	24.2	18.6	20.8	52.7	26.8	20.3
\$ 750 - 999	45.9	39.2	53.8	74.6	44.8	50.0
\$1,000 - 1,499	74.4	68.3	84.7	93.5	71.7	81.1
\$1,500 - 1,999	87.9	83.7	95.6	100.0	85.4	91.0
\$2,000 - 2,499	94.6	92.4	99.0		90.1	95.0
\$2,500 - 2,999	97.1	95.9	99.5		94.1	97.2
\$3,000 - 4,999	99.6	99.4	100.0		97.6	100.0
\$5,000 and over	100.0	100.0			100.0	100.0

from an average of \$1,002 for rural farm families in Prince Edward County to an average of \$1,274 in Culpeper County, while the lowest for the town families was \$1,160 in Wythe County and the highest was \$1,594 for Prince Edward. With two exceptions, the contrasts were not so great within a specified county. Urban families exceeded farm families in this respect by \$382 in Rockbridge and \$591 in Prince Edward, but in the other four counties the difference was small, ranging from \$18 to \$149 (Table 6).

Within the separate counties comparisons of the levels of living of the various tenure groups showed some rather wide variations. In

Nansemond County, for example, the owners reported an average value of goods and services consumed of \$1,345, or almost two and a quarter times that of the croppers (Table 6). Despite the fact that the distinction was based solely upon home ownership, there was also considerable difference in the value of living between the urban owners and renters in the various counties. Such differences may indicate both direct and indirect influences of home ownership upon the consumption behavior of urban families.

In the analysis of the value of living by tenure groups in the various counties, one might hope to find consistent variations that would reflect differences in the various types of agricultural economies. But for the counties studied in Virginia there were no such consistent variations as might be used in generalizing differences between tenure groups by the predominant type of farming. The proportionate difference in the total value of living of owners and croppers tended to be greatest in counties in which tenancy was highest and a one-crop system of farming was most prevalent. Yet in Prince Edward, a county characterized by a high rate of tenancy and an emphasis upon one major cash crop, the proportionate difference between owners and croppers was about the same as that which prevailed in Rockbridge and Wythe Counties where tenancy was relatively low and where smaller units and a more general type of farming existed. In Halifax, Nansemond, and Wythe Counties the difference between the cropper and the renter, as judged by the total value of living, was more pronounced than the difference between the owner and the renter (Table 6). In Rockbridge, Culpeper, and Prince Edward - counties of few similarities - the reverse was true. The contrasts in the levels of living of the various tenure groups in Prince Edward were not so pronounced as in Halifax - two counties in which tobacco is the main cash crop. However, the production of dark tobacco in Prince Edward is conducive to crop rotation, soil improvement, and livestock production, whereas in Halifax the production of bright tobacco often results in soil depletion, single cropping, and lack of livestock.

It does not necessarily follow from data upon which this study is based that tenants who were dependent primarily upon one crop furnished only a small proportion of the family living. With the exception of croppers in Prince Edward and renters in Nansemond, tenants in the "one-crop" counties furnished a proportion of the family living that compared favorably with that furnished by those in the counties with a more diversified agriculture. For the owners the proportion furnished ranged from 35 percent in Nansemond to 49 percent in Rockbridge (Table 6). (In terms of actual values, however, the situation for these groups was not so favorable because, as previously pointed out, the total value was relatively low.)

Generally, in all counties, renters and croppers furnished a greater proportion of the family living than did owners. With the exception of Culpeper County, owner-operators in the western counties with more general farms and more livestock furnished a higher proportion of the family living than did the owners in counties where tobacco, cotton, and peanuts were the main crops.

At the time this study was made similar ones were conducted in three other areas. Although the four are not strictly comparable, some interesting comparisons may be noted. The average value of family living of 1,101 families in six drought counties of South Dakota was \$1,111, of which 37 percent was furnished by the farm. ^{19/} Selected farm families in the Great Lakes Cut-Over Area of Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin reported an average value of goods and services consumed of \$1,031, of which 41 percent was furnished. ^{20/} Families living on the small subsistence farms that were studied in the Appalachian mountain area reported an average of \$662. ^{21/} Although the farms in this study were larger than the subsistence farm of the southern mountain area and not so large as the extensive farm in South Dakota, the average value of living of families in the present study was greater than in these other areas. (See Table 65; Supplementary Tables 61-65 are in the appendix.)

Value-of-Living Groups

Since the first statistical analysis of the family-living budget there has been a constant effort to formulate some laws or generalizations that might be used to ascertain the relative well-being of various groups. Repeated efforts have been made to determine some single item or group of items that might best indicate the level of living. Engel, the pioneer in the statistical analysis of the budget, concluded that the proportion of the family living used for food constituted the best measure of the material standard of living, or that as income increased, the proportion spent for food would decrease. ^{22/} Others have suggested clothing, rent, or fuel as the best measures of the profile of family living. Yet, the problem remains unsolved because generalizations that would apply unequivocally to all economic and social groups have not been found. Zimmerman has indicated that the laws which have been formulated do not apply to all groups because there is no part of the consumption behavior that is not influenced by social customs and traditions in the specific area. ^{23/}

Observation of the consumption behavior of the various income groups is almost traditional procedure in an analysis of family living. Such an approach is concerned primarily with the proportion of the total budget allocated to the principal categories of family-living goods by the successive income groups and an analysis of the effect of higher income upon the consumption behavior. What adjustments do the families with greater incomes make? What items of family living bear the brunt of adjustments made necessary by lower income?

^{19/} Kuntien, W. F., Loomis, C. P., et al., The Standard of Living of Farm and Village Families in Six South Dakota Counties, Social Research Report No. XII, South Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station, Brookings, March 1938.

^{20/} Loomis, C. P., Lister, Joseph J., and Davidson, Dwight M., Jr., Standards of Living in the Great Lakes Cut-Over Area, Social Research Report No. XIII, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., September 1938.

^{21/} Loomis, C. P., and Dodson, L. S., op. cit.

^{22/} Engel, Ernst, Die Lebenskosten belgischer Arbeiter Familien früher und jetzt, Bulletin de l'institut internationale de statistique, tome IX, premiere livraison, Rome, 1895.

^{23/} Zimmerman, Carlo C., Consumption and Standards of Living, D. Van Nostrand Co., New York, 1936.

In order to observe the consumption behavior at the various levels the families included in this study have been divided into four groups according to the total value of all goods and services consumed, both purchased and furnished: (1) Under \$500; (2) \$500--\$999; (3) \$1,000 - \$1,999; and (4) \$2,000 and over. ^{24/} The second and third groups comprised 81 percent of the open-country farm families and 74 percent of the town families (Table 8). Among rural and urban owners a greater percentage

Table 8.- Classification of families according to value-of-living groups, residence, and tenure, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Total value of family living	Open country				Town		
	Total	Owners	Renters	Croppers	Total	Owners	Renters
Number of families	1,730	1,176	385	169	761	337	424
Percentages reporting -							
Under \$500	7	5	6	20	9	12	7
\$500 - \$999	39	34	48	54	35	26	43
\$1,000 - \$1,999	42	45	42	26	30	36	41
\$2,000 and over	12	16	4	-	17	26	9

were in the third group than in any other, while a larger proportion of the tenants in both residence groups were in the second value group.

The average value of all goods and services consumed by the open-country families ranged from an average of \$356 for those classified in the lowest value group to \$2,594 for those in the highest, while in the urban group the range was from \$360 to \$2,987 (Table 9). Although the average value for those families in the lowest value group showed relatively little variation between the different residence and tenure groups, the renters of both residence groups had a slightly higher level of living than the owners. Even the farm croppers had a value of living that was only \$5 less than that of the farm owners in this group. Thus, as measured by the value of goods and services consumed, land ownership did not necessarily reflect a comparatively higher status for those on the lower margin. For the most part, these owners were residing on small units, many of which barely met the qualifications for the census definition of a farm. ^{25/}

In the value groups above \$500, the urban families did show a higher

^{24/} See Table 7, p. 17, for more detailed distribution. The class intervals were combined in order to facilitate the analysis.

^{25/} See discussion on relation of size of farm, pp. 28-30 and 78-79.

level of living as compared with the rural families in corresponding value groups. In the recent study of South Dakota, where the towns are smaller and less industrialized, the situation was reversed. 26/

Within the urban group itself there was comparatively little difference between the average value of family living of owners and renters who reported less than \$2,000. For those at about the \$2,000 level the difference between the average for the owners and the non-owners was significant, a large part of which was due to the category housing and maintenance. At no other place is conspicuous consumption so much in evidence as in the towns. As the farmer strives for status through ownership of his farm, the urbanite seeks status through ownership of his home. In the city, home ownership and the type of dwelling emphasize status and may encourage conspicuous consumption or additional expenditures in other categories such as clothing, social participation, and automobiles.

Only for the renter families in the open country and the owners in towns was there a consistent - though opposite - trend in the proportion of the family living furnished by the various total-value groups (Table 9). However, with the exception of the croppers, there was a general tendency for the proportion furnished to decrease in the successive value groups. This may have been owing to the fact that families of the lower value groups with limited cash available were forced to rely more heavily upon home production, foregoing many items that did not represent direct necessities for maintenance of the family. As income increased, through more commercialized farming or more remunerative employment, additional goods were probably purchased. Nevertheless, this does not imply that home production was curtailed, for the actual value of furnished items increased in each higher value group; rather, it indicates that the importance of furnished items was somewhat lessened by the presence of increasing amounts of purchased goods as buying power increased. On the other hand, among the cropper families it appeared that a higher value of living was more directly a result of home production than was the case in the other tenure groups. Such may indicate that a greater emphasis upon production for home use is the best method whereby the farm cropper may secure a higher level of living. However, the influence of such variables as size of the farm unit and number of persons in the resident family, as well as the contractual relationship of tenant and landlord, must also be considered.

In each residence and tenure group there was a positive correlation between the size of the family (as indicated by the number of persons in the family), the number of males of working age, 27/ and the total value of family living. 28/

26/ Kumlien, W. F., et al., op. cit.

27/ Males from 16 to 64 years of age.

28/ See Table 43 and the discussion of size of family, ch. IV.

Table 9.-- Average value of family living and percentage of total that was furnished, by residence, tenure, and value-of-living groups, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	:	:	Value-of-living groups			
	All families	: Under \$500	: \$500- \$999	: \$1,000- \$1,999	: \$2,000 and over	
Average value of family living:						
Open country	\$1,129.9	\$356.4	\$680.6	\$1,256.0	\$2,594.0	
Owners	1,249.2	354.6	694.9	1,275.0	2,630.1	
Renters	946.0	370.4	676.3	1,207.0	2,188.7	
Croppers	719.2	349.5	627.4	1,207.6	-	
Town	1,332.0	360.0	750.1	1,391.8	2,987.3	
Owners	1,557.6	357.3	745.7	1,438.9	3,086.1	
Renters	1,152.7	363.6	752.2	1,359.3	2,758.2	
Percentage furnished:						
Open country	43.5	51.3	53.1	44.9	32.4	
Owners	42.4	52.6	54.1	44.7	32.3	
Renters	45.2	53.9	50.6	43.5	33.6	
Croppers	52.2	46.7	53.4	52.1	-	
Town	14.0	26.3	13.6	12.8	14.6	
Owners	18.3	37.0	25.5	18.7	15.4	
Renters	9.3	12.8	7.8	8.5	12.6	

Total Value of Living, by Size of Family

The ability to command more family-living goods is a significant factor, yet the size and composition of the family unit are definitely related to the total value of living. It has been pointed out that increases in the size of the family may have an effect upon the consumption behavior of families somewhat similar to that of a decrease in the family income. ^{29/} As more members naturally increase the physiological needs of the family, those needs must be met by adjustments in consumption behavior unless there is a concurrent increase in income. It was found for the families studied that a definite relationship existed between the size of the family unit and the value of goods used. Which might be considered the cause and which the effect is a matter for conjecture, but the relationship demands further consideration. Some analyses have shown that this relationship between family size and family expenditures is even

^{29/} Zimmerman, Carlo C., Mathematical Correlation in the Household Budget, Sociologus, Vol. 8, No. 2, June 1932, pp. 145-146.

more definite in the urban than in the rural areas. 30/

As an arbitrary technique, the families were divided into three groups according to the number of resident members: (1) those with less than 3, (2) those with from 3 to 5, and (3) those with 5 or more. Of the rural families 27 percent had less than 3 persons, 36 percent had from 3 to 5, and 37 percent had 5 or more (Table 10). Among the owner-operators there was only a slight difference in the proportions classified in the three groups, but almost 50 percent of the farm-tenant families had 5 or more persons. The town families were smaller than the rural units, since over three-fourths of the former had less than 5 members. This is further emphasized by the fact that 45 percent of the owner families in the towns had less than 3 members.

In the rural group the larger families reported a higher value of living but the value of goods and services used did not increase at the same rate as the size of the family. Consequently, lower per-capita expenditures were made by the larger families. The increase in the average value of family living of the very large families over that of the small was greater for the tenants of the rural areas than for the owners and greater for the croppers than for the renters. Farm owners with less than 3 resident members in the family had a total value of \$1,126, while those with 5 or more members in the family reported \$1,326. Among croppers the large family consumed goods and services valued at \$879 whereas, the small family reported a value of \$494. Such an example may indicate the great importance of a large family to the farm tenant. Generally, the entire working force of the tenant family will be engaged in the operation of the farm and not infrequently the selection of tenants is based largely upon the number of persons in the family who will be able to assist in the farm work. Therefore, the larger tenant family, presumably with more persons of working age, should show a greater influence upon the total value of living.

Among the urban families the relationship between size of family and total value of living did not follow the pattern displayed in the open-country groups; there owner and renter families with from 3 to 5 members reported the highest value of goods and services consumed.

It has frequently been observed that the large families are generally those with low incomes. In Virginia the average value of goods consumed per open-country family actually increased slightly with an increase in the number of resident members in the household (Table 11), but an analysis of the percapita expenditures indicated that the individual member commanded less of the total family budget than in the smaller families. Although the larger working force in the farm family was able to obtain more family-living goods, through either greater production for

30/ Zimmerman, C. C., Consumption and Standards of Living, op. cit., p. 553; conclusions based on Farm Family Living Among White Owner and Tenant Operators in Wake County, by W. A. Anderson, North Carolina Experiment Station Bulletin 269, Raleigh, September 1929.

Table 10.- Classification of families according to size of family, tenure, and residence, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Size of family	Open country				Town		
	Total	Owners	Renters	Croppers	Total	Owners	Renters
Number of families	1,730	1,176	385	169	761	337	424
Percentages reporting -							
Under 3 persons	27	31	16	18	36	45	30
3.0 - 4.9	36	35	38	33	41	40	41
5 and over	37	34	46	49	23	15	29

Table 11.- Average value of family living and percentage of total that was furnished, by residence, tenure, and size of family, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	Size of family (persons)			
	All families	Under 3	3.0 - 4.9	5 or more
Average value of family living:				
Open country	\$1,129.9	\$1,033.3	\$1,164.0	\$1,191.8
Owners	1,249.2	1,126.3	1,326.4	1,326.0
Renters	946.0	756.6	915.9	1,037.9
Croppers	719.2	493.7	603.7	879.0
Town	1,332.0	1,185.1	1,493.1	1,281.3
Owners	1,557.6	1,285.4	1,834.1	1,634.3
Renters	1,152.7	1,067.0	1,226.6	1,138.3
Percentage furnished:				
Open country	43.5	43.6	43.1	45.1
Owners	42.4	43.7	42.3	43.3
Renters	45.2	40.6	44.3	47.0
Croppers	52.2	51.1	51.0	52.8
Town	14.0	17.9	12.8	10.5
Owners	16.3	22.6	16.4	14.1
Renters	9.3	11.2	8.6	8.4

Home use or increased income from farming on a larger commercial scale,^{31/} the increase was not in proportion to the increase in the size of the family. On the other hand, the large town families had a lower value of living, both per family and per capita, than did the small families.

^{31/} Loomis, C. P., Life Cycle of Families, Rural Sociology, Vol. 1, No. 2, June 1936.

Perhaps some explanation of the fact that in the sample counties town families of 3 to 5 members reported a relatively high value of living may be found in the age of the family; that is, the parents may have been married long enough to have accumulated some property. Furthermore, some of the children probably had left the parental home, and the parents and the remaining children were able to maintain a relatively high level of living. A recent study substantiates the fact that the units with one or two children tend to be the older families, even in certain rural areas. 32/

Total Value of Living, by Family Life Cycle

From its beginning, at the time of marriage, until it is broken by the death of either the husband or the wife or by separation, the family constantly undergoes such rhythmic changes in composition and characteristics that there is a definite cycle. From studies of this evolution has come the family-life-cycle concept, and the empirical procedure of dividing the cycle into specific periods, each of which has distinct characteristics and represents a successive stage in the family history. 33/

As the family grows and changes in size, variations in the consumption behavior of the family occur; consequently, the life-cycle concept furnishes a useful tool in the analysis of the level of living. 34/

Application of the concept in this study is based upon the duration of marriage and the cross-section method of analysis. 35/ Data pertaining to families with children were analyzed in more detail than data relevant to childless couples. On the basis of the duration of the marriage union the families were divided into four groups which were assumed to be closely representative of the life cycle. The first, made up of those married less than 10 years, contained the newly formed unions in which the children were very young. In the second group the husbands and wives had been married from 10 to 19 years and their children were growing and just approaching adolescence. Families formed from 20 to 29 years represented the peak of the family life cycle because during this period the working force of the family was greatest. The final stage was represented by families which had been in existence for 30 years or more.

32/ Anderson, W. A., The Composition of Rural Households, Bulletin No. 713, Cornell University, Agricultural Experiment Station, Ithaca, New York, 1939.

33/ Loomis, C. P., op. cit.; Loomis, C. P., Family Life Cycle Analysis, Social Forces, Vol. 15, No. 2, December 1936; Loomis, C. P., Growth of Farm Family in Relation of Its Activities, Bulletin No. 298, North Carolina Experiment Station, Raleigh, June 1934; Sorokin, P. A., Zimmerman, C. C., and Galpin, C. J., A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, 1931, Vol. II, p. 41 ff.

34/ The recent Consumer Purchase Studies conducted under the supervision of the Bureau of Home Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture, were based upon family types. Nine types of families were used.

35/ The cross-section method of analysis is employed under the assumption that it will result in about the same pattern as that revealed by the historical method. Comparative studies have shown that some variations may exist between the two methods but they are not great. For a comparison of the two methods, see Loomis, C. P., Family Life Cycle Analysis, op. cit.

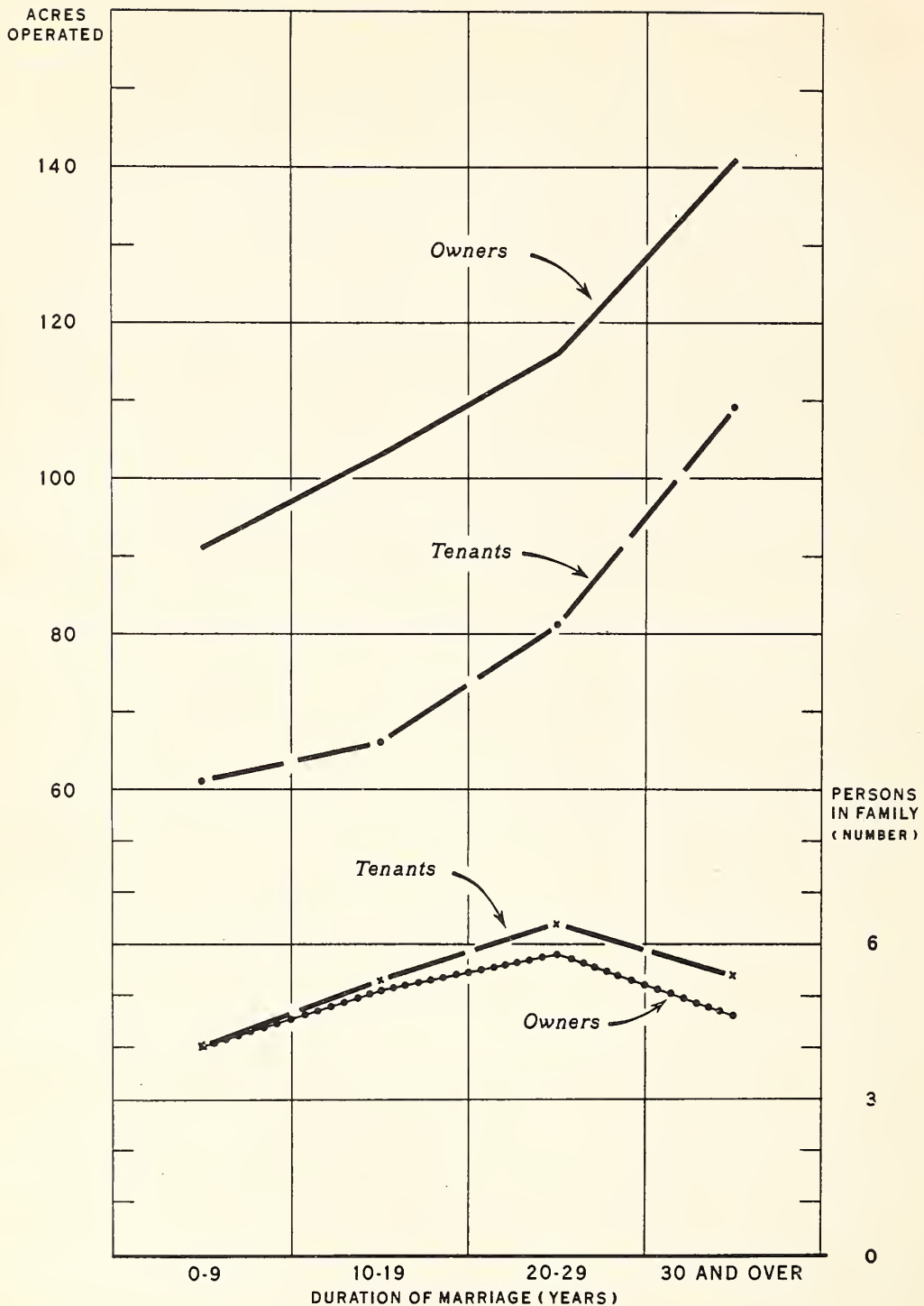


FIGURE 2.— AVERAGE NUMBER OF ACRES OPERATED AND NUMBER OF PERSONS IN RESIDENT FAMILY, BY TENURE AND DURATION OF MARRIAGE UNION OF COUPLES WITH CHILDREN, 6 VIRGINIA COUNTIES, 1935.

The average number of members per family in each residence and tenure group followed very definitely the life cycle, increasing through the early stages until the peak was reached and then decreasing in the last stage. Generally, in each stage the tenants had larger families than the owners and the rural families were larger than the urban.

As the age and size of the family increased, the average value of goods and services consumed followed the same tendency through the third period of the life cycle, after which there was a decline. Open-country families that had been formed less than 10 years reported an average total value of living amounting to \$953; those formed from 20 to 29 years reported an average of \$1,340; and those in the fourth stage of the cycle reported \$1,241. The value of living for the urban families increased from \$1,127 to \$1,820 and then dropped to \$1,523 (Table 62). With the exception of the urban renters, childless couples reported a lower value of living than did couples with children. As measured by the total value of family living, it appeared increasingly difficult for the older families without children to maintain the level of the younger families; in each residence and tenure group, except the croppers, the average value of goods and services consumed was greater for childless couples who had been married less than 10 years than for those who had been married for a longer period.

For rural tenants the level of living increased more sharply between the first and third stages of the life cycle than for owners. Similarly, the increase was greater for croppers than for renters, although at no stage was the comparative position of these three groups, as indicated by the value of family living, altered. When the four major groups were analyzed in greater detail, it was found that the peak value of living for the croppers came in the group of families that had been formed from 20 to 25 years; for the owners it occurred 5 years later; and for the renters, among those formed from 30 to 35 years.

In the successive stages of the life cycle the amounts devoted to three of the categories of family-living goods were of special importance. As the families could command more economic goods, housing, clothing, and automobiles assumed major importance in the budget (Table 62). Particularly in the third stage of the life cycle was this apparent, for at this period the family had the best opportunity to increase its apparent status by emphasizing items that bear some aspects of conspicuous consumption. Such a tendency was more prevalent in the urban than in the rural groups.

In all groups, especially in the rural areas, the highest values per family occurred in those with the greatest working force. As the work energy increased among the farm families, the average number of acres operated followed a similar tendency. 36/ It may be noted that the number of acres operated continued to increase through the fourth stage of the life cycle even though the work energy had decreased (Figure 2). This represented an additional adjustment on the part of the older families in an effort to

36/ See Lewis, C. P., Growth of Farm Family in Relation to Its Activities, op. cit.

maintain and even to raise their status. Because of the decrease in work energy," the increased number of acres operated probably implied greater reliance upon hired labor. Owner families that had been formed for less than 10 years operated an average of 91 acres, those formed from 20 to 29 years operated 116 acres, and those formed for more than 30 years operated 141 acres. Among tenants the acreage ranged from 61 for the youngest families to 109 for those in the oldest group.

As the rate of change in the size of the family was not identical to that in the total value of family living, the per-capita values deviated from the pattern displayed by the average value per family when related to the various stages of the life cycle. Among the farm families the per-capita value decreased as the age and size of the family increased, the lowest value occurring in the third group and the highest in the final group. For town families the per-capita value tended to follow the same general pattern as the value per family although the lowest value per person was reported by members of families that had been formed from 10 to 19 years.

Total Value of Living, by Size of Farm

Often the relative well-being of the open-country inhabitant is judged by the size of the unit he owns or operates, but size of the farm in terms of acres cannot be the sole criterion employed. Since some crops are better adapted to intensive rather than extensive operations, the type of farming may determine the efficient size of the unit. However, the relationship between the size of the farm and the total value of living demands consideration.

Some farm families operating units of less than 10 acres were also engaged in non-farm employment for a part or all of the year, but at the same time produced agricultural products, principally for home use, of such value as to bring these units within the census classification of a farm. As some part-time farmers were included in the study, it is probable that a number of those who operated less than 10 acres might be so classified. This is substantiated by the fact that both owners and renters on those small units received a greater part of their incomes from non-farm sources. ^{37/} On the basis of the average size of the household, the average value of family living, and the proportion of the family budget that was furnished by the farm, it is further apparent that there were significant differences between the families on less than 10 acres and those on larger units. It must not be assumed, however, that all families on the small farms were part-time operators, for some depended primarily upon the unit and attempted to procure a meager existence from small-scale operations. ^{38/} Again, such an observation must be limited to the owners and the renters. It might be feasible for families to rent a home and a few acres in the open country while engaged principally in non-farm employment, but

^{37/} See ch. III, beginning on p. 76.

^{38/} Hummel, B. L., and Hummel, R. B., op. cit.

Table 12.- Total value of family living and food consumed, amount and percentage furnished per open-country family, by size of farm and tenure, 6 Virginia counties, 1936

Size of farm (acres)	Number of families	Total value of living		Food consumed	
		Amount	Percentage furnished	Amount	Percentage furnished
All tenure groups	1,730	\$1,129.9	43.5	\$468.1	70.0
Under 3	86	1,029.1	34.0	432.6	60.0
3 - 9	138	918.6	39.7	429.0	60.8
10 - 19	166	850.2	42.8	408.5	62.2
20 - 49	313	323.2	45.0	413.8	67.4
50 - 99	391	1,009.5	45.6	437.5	72.7
100 - 174	349	1,257.8	43.7	504.2	71.0
175 - 259	157	1,456.6	44.5	574.7	73.7
260 - 499	108	1,744.3	45.5	614.2	73.7
500 or more	23	2,307.7	32.8	611.9	70.1
Owners	1,176	1,249.9	42.4	482.1	70.5
Under 3	36	1,189.0	32.5	449.6	59.7
3 - 9	78	918.2	37.9	334.4	60.1
10 - 19	88	1,005.9	40.7	451.9	61.6
20 - 49	199	1,051.9	43.3	431.2	67.2
50 - 99	287	1,047.5	45.1	441.0	72.6
100 - 174	265	1,337.8	42.1	507.7	71.2
175 - 259	128	1,594.0	43.2	579.6	73.7
260 - 499	87	1,851.0	43.4	607.8	72.2
500 or more	18	2,391.1	33.0	615.6	70.7
Renters	385	946.0	45.2	453.6	68.9
Under 3	50	948.8	33.7	418.6	60.2
3 - 9	48	969.7	39.1	503.6	59.1
10 - 19	42	762.0	46.7	382.5	64.8
20 - 49	71	795.0	46.3	398.3	68.4
50 - 99	72	984.7	47.4	441.0	74.5
100 - 174	62	1,008.8	48.8	476.7	73.9
175 - 259	22	1,069.7	53.1	561.3	74.7
260 and over	18	1,370.9	53.0	640.6	78.2
Croppers	169	719.2	52.2	403.5	69.7
Under 20	17	547.9	50.5	340.8	66.8
20 - 49	53	634.2	52.6	367.9	66.3
50 - 99	32	724.7	47.0	390.1	70.0
100 or more	37	1,052.4	45.9	545.6	75.1

the contractual terms under which the cropper operates would seldom encourage operation of a very small unit. ^{39/} In the commercial farming areas where tenancy is most prevalent it is also probable that the very small unit would not be available for farming on a share-crop basis.

The average value of living of all families who operated less than 3 acres was \$1,029, of which 34 percent was furnished, while the average value for the smaller families on units with from 3 to 9 acres was \$920, of which 40 percent was furnished (Table 12). The lowest value was \$850 for those operating from 10 to 19 acres, but for those with larger farms there was a linear relationship between size of farm and level of living. Similarly, the proportion furnished tended to increase on the larger farms.

When tenure status was considered in this analysis, it was found that owners on less than 3 acres reported an average value of \$1,189 and those operating from 3 to 9 acres reported \$918. Renters on the smallest units averaged \$849 for goods and services consumed, and those on units of 3 to 9 acres averaged \$970. Thus, as indicated by this contrast, the renters in the latter group had a relatively higher level of living than did the owners on farms of similar size. Furthermore, the renters furnished about the same proportion of the family living as did the owners.

Although for families in each tenure group operating more than 10 acres there were consistent increases in value of living as farm acreage increased and a tendency for the proportion furnished to follow a somewhat similar pattern, there were variations in the point at which size of farm appeared to have the greatest reflection upon the total value of living. That is, as the various sizes were considered, the size-of-farm group with a value of living that represented the most significant increase over the preceding group varied among the tenure classes. Thus, among the owners who were operating at least 100 acres the value of living was significantly higher than for those operating smaller farms; the value of living of those with from 100 to 174 acres represented a distinct increase over that of families with holdings ranging from 50 to 99 acres. Also, the difference between these acreage groups was larger than between any others above 10 acres. Among the renters the most significant increase was for the group operating 50 to 99 acres over those with from 10 to 50. Of the croppers only those with 100 or more acres showed a sizeable change in the level of living.

Food

In the search for a measure of the relative well-being of the family, perhaps no other generic category of family-living goods has received so much emphasis as food. Engel believed that one of the most important ob-

^{39/} Seven percent of the croppers (12 families) were reported as operating from 3 to 9 acres, but none reported less than 3 acres.

servations resulting from his studies was that the poorer the individual the greater the proportion of the total income that would be devoted to food. 40/ Zimmerman has gone even farther and suggested that generally the family will devote from 40 to 60 percent of its economic energy to this purpose and that different economic and social groups display varying food habits. 41/ In the food behavior of rural and urban families Zimmerman observed 8 major points of difference. Noteworthy were his observations that among the rural groups, as compared with the urban, food materials were more biased towards local production and that food was a more prominent item in the total value of family living - in other words, constituted a higher proportion of the total living. 42/

In the six Virginia counties the average value of food consumed by the rural family was \$468, or 41 percent of the total budget, while the urban family spent \$383, or only 29 percent of the total, for this item (Table 13). However, this contrast between the two groups was somewhat minimized inasmuch as the open-country families had a per-capita food value of \$112 - an amount only \$2 higher than that of the urban group (Table 61). The open-country family in this study produced 70 percent of all food consumed while the urban family, limited in most cases to a small kitchen garden, produced only 8 percent (Table 13). Moreover, the farm families consumed rather large quantities of livestock products, most of which were produced on the home farm. The high value of these products definitely increased the value of food consumed and the proportion furnished.

Differences within the urban and rural groups were to some extent emphasized by an analysis of the value of food consumed by the various tenure classes. In the open country the value of food reported by the owners was \$482 as compared with \$454 and \$404 for the renters and the croppers respectively. Urban owners reported a value of \$395, or \$22 more per family than did urban renters (Table 13). As both urban and rural tenants had the larger families, the owners also reported higher per-capita consumption of food (Table 61).

Rural families devoted a larger proportion of the total family-living budget to this category than did the urban families. Similarly food commanded an increasing proportion of the total with lower tenure status. For open-country owners this item represented 39 percent of the total value of all goods, whereas for renters and croppers it amounted to 48 and 56 percent respectively. A parallel tendency was evident among the urban groups. In both residence groups owners furnished but a slightly larger proportion of the food consumed than did tenants (Table 13).

As in the case of total value of family living, the highest average value of food consumed was reported by families in Culpeper County, yet a relatively small proportion of this was produced on the farms they operated.

40/ Engel, Ernst, op. cit.

41/ Zimmerman, Carle C., Consumption and Standards of Living, op. cit., p. 96.

42/ Ibid., pp. 77-78.

Table 13.- Average value of food consumed per family, percentage furnished, and percentage food was of total value of family living, by residence, tenure, and county of survey, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	6 selected counties						
	Total				Prince:Rock-		
	1/	Culpeper	Halifax	Nansemond	Edward	bridge	Wythe

Average value:

Open country	\$468.1	\$530.1	\$452.3	\$444.6	\$454.8	\$475.4	\$455.2
Owners	482.1	534.3	478.8	463.5	472.0	484.5	460.3
Renters	453.6	541.8	434.7	436.1	451.3	463.1	442.5
Croppers 2/	403.5	579.3	325.9	338.0	401.1	421.3	433.2
Town	383.0	378.8	369.5	410.7	425.8	391.0	323.2
Owners	395.3	382.0	377.2	428.8	509.5	356.0	339.3
Renters	372.9	385.4	367.0	399.9	352.7	423.6	306.5

Percentage of total:

Open country	41.4	42.2	41.3	37.2	45.4	42.2	45.0
Owners	36.6	39.9	37.9	34.6	41.9	39.6	42.8
Renters	48.0	52.5	46.2	41.5	52.9	51.3	50.1
Croppers 2/	56.1	49.2	52.7	56.1	57.0	55.1	63.1
Town	28.8	27.7	30.9	33.9	26.7	25.9	27.8
Owners	25.4	24.9	21.2	29.6	26.9	21.6	26.7
Renters	32.4	30.2	36.4	38.1	26.5	30.7	29.5

Percentage furnished:

Open country	70.0	64.5	79.0	63.2	71.0	72.5	67.6
Owners	70.5	64.0	80.0	64.7	73.2	72.9	68.3
Renters	68.9	62.7	77.4	62.8	67.1	69.2	62.7
Croppers 2/	69.7	76.1	79.3	68.9	65.6	77.5	69.0
Town	8.2	13.6	3.2	3.0	2.8	8.2	11.4
Owners	9.9	14.1	3.2	2.0	2.8	10.1	13.1
Renters	6.7	11.0	2.3	3.0	2.7	6.6	9.2

1/ Includes 158 families in other counties adjacent to those studied.

2/ See footnote 13, p. 14.

In the remaining counties owners reported food values only slightly higher than did renters, ranging from \$460 to \$484 for owners in Wythe and Rockbridge Counties respectively and from \$435 to \$463 for renters in Halifax and Rockbridge (Table 13); but the croppers reported values that ranged from \$326 in Halifax to \$433 in Wythe. In the counties with a high rate of tenancy and where a one-crop system of farming was predominant, the tenants reported relatively low values for food consumed.

Food consumed by the urban families ranged in value from \$325 for Wythe County to \$426 for Prince Edward. With the exception of the latter county, there was little difference in the value of food consumed by the urban owners and by the urban renters. Farm owners in Nansemond County ascribed 35 percent of the family living to food, and croppers in Wythe County allocated 63 percent to the same purpose. But in the town groups the range was from 21 percent for owners in Halifax to 38 percent for renters in Nansemond. Thus the data appear to substantiate Professor Zimmerman's observation concerning the relative importance of food in the rural and the urban budgets.

The proportion of the food furnished by the families showed great variation between the various counties. Significantly, the highest proportion of furnished food was recorded in Halifax County where bright tobacco is the main crop. Although the actual value of the food produced was relatively low, it should be noted that in each tenure group in that county the average family furnished almost 80 percent of all the food consumed. Such a fact tends to contradict the customary belief that among tenants a one-crop system of agriculture is seldom complemented to any extent by production for home use.

Food, by Value-of-Living Groups

In all residence and tenure groups encompassed in the sample there was a decrease in the proportion of the total budget allocated to food as the value of family living increased - a condition entirely in accord with the customary theory of food behavior. Open-country owners with a value of living of less than \$500 devoted 55 percent to the food needs of the family, while owners with a value of living of \$2,000 or more used only 26 percent for food (Table 14 and Fig. 3). For the renters the proportion decreased from 62 percent in the lowest value group to 36 percent for those in the highest. Among the croppers, none of whom reported a total value as high as \$2,000, the decrease in the proportion devoted to food was not so great as in the other tenure groups; those reporting a total value of less than \$500 devoted 60 percent to this item and those reporting from \$1,000 to \$1,999, 53 percent.

An inverse relationship prevailed between the average value of food consumed and the proportion this item made of the total in the various groups. This tendency for the value of food to increase in the higher groups was consistent in all residence and tenure classifications. As the families were larger in the higher value groups, this was a logical relationship. Furthermore, because of the limit to physiological needs, a greater value of food consumed in the higher value groups does not necessarily imply that as the family budget was increased the members consumed more food, although it may have been true in some marginal cases. Rather, it may imply that the families were more selective in the food consumed. The value of food ranged from \$204 for the open-country families with a total value of family living of less than \$500 to more than three times as much for those in the highest value group. Among the

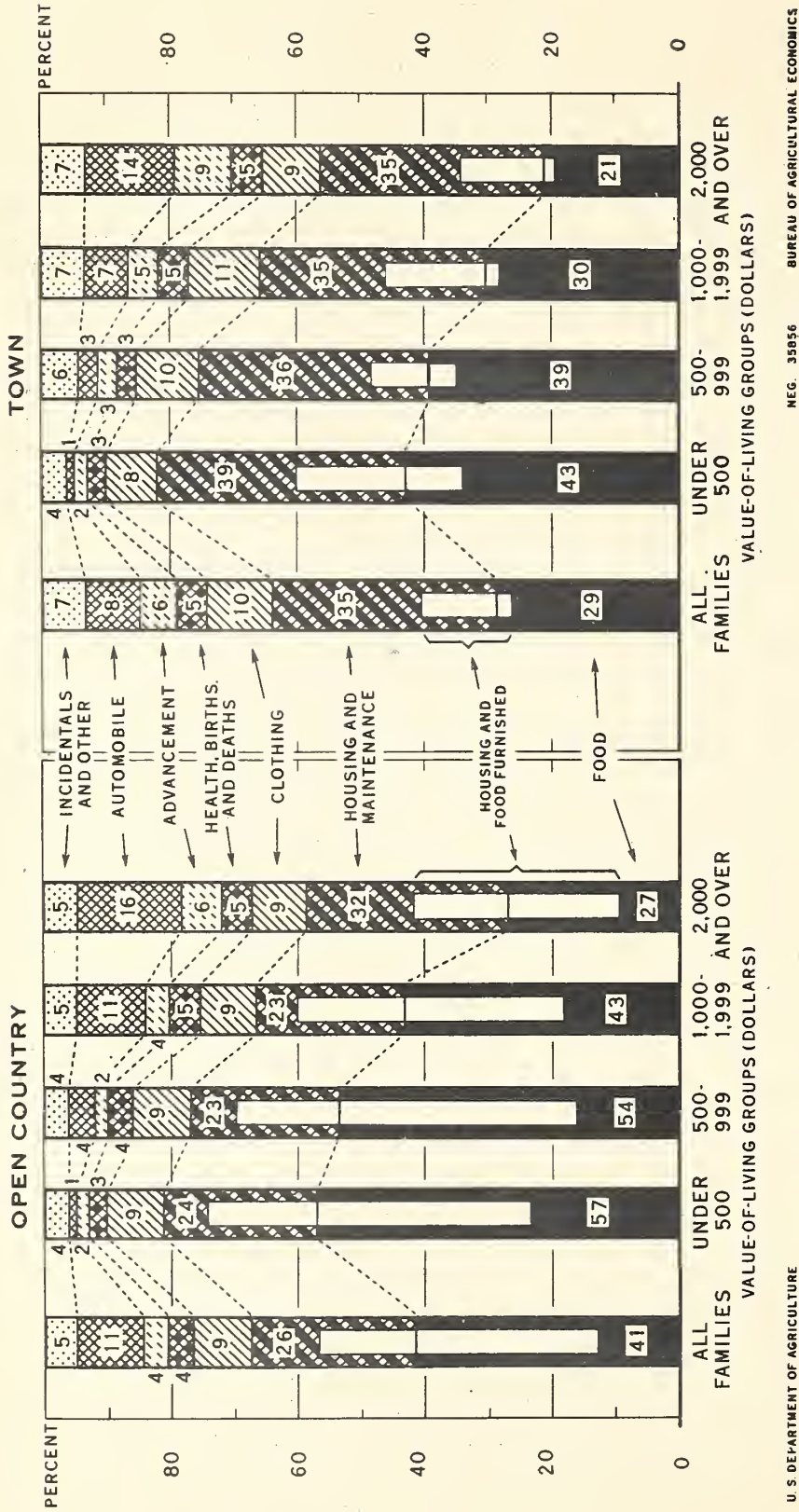


FIGURE 3.- PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL VALUE OF FAMILY LIVING AMONG PRINCIPAL GROUPS OF GOODS AND SERVICES CONSUMED, BY RESIDENCE AND VALUE-OF-LIVING GROUPS, 6 VIRGINIA COUNTIES, 1935.

Table 14.- Average value of food consumed per family, percentage furnished, and the percentage that food was of total value of living, by residence, tenure, and value-of-living groups, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	Value-of-living groups					
	All	Under	\$500-	\$1,000-	\$2,000	
	families	\$500	\$999	\$1,999	and over	
Average value:						
Open country	\$468.1	\$204.4	\$365.6	\$541.2	\$697.7	
Owners	482.1	193.4	363.6	531.2	690.4	
Renters	453.6	228.1	370.8	546.9	780.3	
Croppers	403.5	208.3	363.7	642.3	-	
Town	383.0	154.7	290.5	420.5	621.7	
Owners	395.3	143.5	267.1	406.3	622.5	
Renters	372.9	162.6	302.0	430.4	619.9	
Percentage of total:						
Open country	41.4	57.4	53.7	43.1	26.9	
Owners	38.3	54.5	52.3	41.7	26.2	
Renters	48.0	61.5	54.8	45.3	35.7	
Croppers	56.1	59.6	58.0	53.2	-	
Town	28.8	43.0	38.7	30.2	20.8	
Owners	25.4	41.6	35.8	28.2	20.2	
Renters	32.4	44.7	40.1	31.7	22.5	
Percentage furnished:						
Open country	70.0	59.6	69.6	72.0	66.0	
Owners	70.5	58.4	71.0	72.9	65.8	
Renters	68.9	63.6	68.3	70.0	67.2	
Croppers	69.7	58.5	67.8	74.8	-	
Town	8.2	21.4	9.9	7.4	5.8	
Owners	9.9	26.3	16.1	8.4	6.8	
Renters	6.7	15.7	7.2	6.7	3.4	

urban families the range was from \$155 to \$622 in the lowest and highest value groups respectively. In all groups of both open-country and urban families, with the single exception of the town families with a value of \$2,000 or more, the value of food consumed was greater for tenants than for owners. Although urban families had fewer members than the rural, per-capita expenditures for food tended to be higher in the former group.

The proportion of the value of food furnished by the open-country families followed a consistent pattern throughout the various value groups. The smallest proportion furnished was reported by families with a value of

living of less than \$500. Families in the second and third value groups reported a successively higher proportion furnished while there was a decrease in the highest group, or those with a total value of more than \$2,000 (Table 14).

The most significant increase in the proportion of food furnished was that which occurred between two owner groups: from 58 percent for the one reporting an average total value of living under \$500, to 71 percent for the one reporting an average value of \$500 to \$999. The relationship of tenure to the proportion furnished varied in the value groups, and there was no consistent tendency for owners to furnish a larger proportion than tenants or the reverse.

Among the town families there was a definite decrease in the proportion of food furnished as the value of living increased. It is to be expected that as the town family reaches the so-called higher social and economic levels through increased income, there will be less necessity for reliance upon home-produced food, and that efforts to produce food at home will be minimized.

Food, by Size of Family

More members obviously increase the food requirements; consequently, as the size of the family increased there was an increase in the proportion of the family-living budget allocated to food and in the average value of food consumed. In this study, however, the rate of increase in the value of food was by no means in direct proportion to the increase in the size of family. Open-country families with less than 3 persons reported food consumed valued at \$372 while the families with 5 or more persons, at least twice as large and perhaps with more older persons, had a value of food consumed that was only \$184 greater than that of the small families. In the towns studied the families with less than 3 persons consumed an average of \$295 worth of food and those with 5 or more persons, \$457 (Table 15).

In the open-country group the increase in the average value of food was greater between the families of medium and large size than between those of small and medium size. The town families showed the opposite tendency.

Open-country owners with less than 3 persons in the family devoted 35 percent of the total budget to food and those with 5 or more members allocated 43 percent to this item. Similar increases were apparent in the other tenure groups. Yet, despite the implication of a greater working force in the larger families there was not a significant increase in the proportion of food produced at home (Table 15).

Table 15.- Average value of food consumed per family, percentage furnished, and the percentage that food was of the total value of family living, by residence, tenure, and size of family, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	:	All	:	Size of family (persons)		
	:	families	:	Under 3	3.0 - 4.9	5 or more
<hr/>						
Average value:						
Open country		\$468.1		\$372.0	\$445.4	\$556.0
Owners		482.1		391.9	472.6	573.1
Renters		453.6		317.0	411.8	536.4
Croppers		403.5		248.5	331.3	501.6
Town		383.0		295.4	421.8	456.6
Owners		395.3		292.8	474.4	494.3
Renters		372.9		298.4	380.9	441.4
 Percentage of total:						
Open country		41.4		36.0	38.3	46.6
Owners		38.6		34.8	35.6	43.4
Renters		48.0		41.9	45.0	51.7
Croppers		56.1		50.3	54.9	57.1
Town		28.8		24.9	28.3	35.6
Owners		25.4		22.8	25.9	30.3
Renters		32.4		28.0	31.0	38.8
 Percentage furnished:						
Open country		70.0		68.7	70.5	70.3
Owners		70.5		69.3	71.2	70.6
Renters		68.9		64.6	69.5	69.5
Croppers		69.7		67.8	66.1	71.1
Town		8.2		8.9	6.7	9.9
Owners		9.9		10.2	8.6	12.8
Renters		6.7		7.3	4.8	8.6

Food, by Family Life Cycle

It is obvious that a definite relationship should exist between the duration of the family union and the value of food consumed, for as the family passes through the various stages of the life cycle the composition

changes. In rural and urban groups the value of food followed very closely the four stages of the life cycle, increasing in the first three stages when all the children were presumably at home and growing from childhood into adulthood, and decreasing as children left home.

From the value of food consumed it appeared that variations during the successive stages of the life cycle were greater among tenants than among owners. As the duration of marriage increased among the latter the value of food increased very slightly to the peak period and in all stages ranged between \$302 and \$542. Both renters and croppers, however, were able to convert the efforts of a larger family into an increased value of food despite having fewer males of working age. Thus renters married less than 10 years had an average value of food consumed of \$395 and those married from 20 to 29 years reported an average of \$525. Those same marriage groups of the cropper families reported \$331 and \$514 respectively (Table 62).

In all preceding analyses the value of food consumed by the rural families has exceeded that of the urban group. But the same observation was not applicable when the analysis was made on the basis of duration of marriage. In all marriage groups the value of food consumed by urban owners was greater than that reported by the rural groups; for urban renters this value was slightly lower than for tenants in the open country but was higher than for farm owners.

Food, by Size of Farm

Obviously, the type of farming conditions the amount of food that a family produces on the home farm. Some correlation may exist between the size of the unit and the proportion furnished. The farmer with smaller holdings may be limited in his ability to produce a significant proportion of his food, whereas generally large-scale farming may encourage the diversion of energy to as well as from production of feedstuffs.

For the families included in this study there was a general tendency for the proportion produced to increase as the size of farm increased (Table 12, p. 29). For all families the proportion of food produced at home increased from 60 percent for those with less than 3 acres to 74 percent for those operating from 100 to 500 acres. The same range tended to be applicable for each tenure group. The increase was rather steady and pronounced through the farms with from 100 to 174 acres, but above this level the proportion furnished remained fairly constant regardless of increased acreage. These data indicate a point at which home production would level off and a maximum of about three-fourths as the percentage of food that would be furnished, even on the larger units.

Just as farm size influenced the proportion furnished, some correlation existed between the size of the family, the amount of cash income, and the proportion of food furnished. Thus, three variables appear to enter into the determination of the extent of production of foodstuffs for

home use. However, no mathematical computations were made to ascertain which of these factors was most closely related to the proportion of food furnished.

Housing and Maintenance

Although the individual may seek shelter primarily for protection, the dwelling is at least partially indicative of his social and economic status. As his income or the ability to command economic goods increases, he strives for the better housing facilities that form visible evidence of status in the community or neighborhood. Because of this, many efforts to measure the relative well-being of groups of families have been based entirely upon the appearance and condition of the dwelling and its furnishings. ^{43/} Since housing is to a large degree contingent upon prevailing cultural and economic patterns, it may be greatly diversified according to different geographic areas. Family dwellings in Virginia vary from the colonial mansion surviving from plantation days to the crude mountain shack or the sharecropper's home.

The average farm family included in the sample was living in a dwelling that had been constructed approximately 43 years before the interview, whereas the average town dwelling was about 30 years old (Table 16). Tenure status apparently had little effect upon the age of the dwelling in either open-country or urban areas. Neither was there any significant relationship between the total value of living and the age of the dwelling except among the open-country tenants. In that tenure group the families with a higher value of living were residing in older dwellings. An extreme instance was that of the 18 open-country tenants with a value of living of more than \$2,000 who reported 71 years as the average age of dwelling; however, the number of cases was too small for pointed consideration. Because of the influence of housing upon the total value of living, the increase in the age of the dwelling occupied by tenants in the higher value group may suggest that these groups were occupying old mansions and owner-operator homesteads of long ago while more recently constructed tenant dwellings are less expensive.

Despite the larger families in the rural areas there was little difference in the number of rooms in the dwelling of the urban and that of the rural family. The farm dwelling had 3.5 rooms while the average in the towns was 3.2. Farm-tenant homes had fewer rooms than those of the owners but among the town families the reverse was true. About 75 percent of the farm families and 80 percent of the urban group had homes which, in relation to the size of family, might be considered as providing at least adequate space. Families in the low-value classes reported the smallest houses.

Approximately 87 percent of the farm families and 89 percent of the urban families were residing in dwellings of frame construction (Table 17).

^{43/} Foremost in this field has been Chapin. See Chapin, Francis Stuart, *The Measurement of Social Status by the Use of the Social Status Scale*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1933.

Table 16.- Characteristics of dwellings occupied by families studied, by tenure and total value of living, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Tenure and total value of living	Averages					
	Open country			Town		
	Replacement: value	Age :(years)	Number :of rooms:	Replacement: value	Age :(years)	Number :of rooms
Total	\$1,650	43	3.5	\$2,210	30	3.2
Under \$500	760	39	2.7	920	32	2.6
\$500 - \$999	1,060	41	3.3	1,230	29	3.3
\$1,000 - 1,999	1,690	44	3.8	2,350	30	3.4
\$2,000 and over	3,930	47	3.5	4,740	30	3.0
Owners	1,950	43	3.6	2,820	30	3.1
Under \$500	970	45	3.1	970	35	2.8
\$500 - \$999	1,240	41	3.4	1,600	30	2.7
\$1,000 - 1,999	1,820	44	4.0	2,720	29	3.4
\$2,000 and over	4,080	45	3.4	5,030	30	3.2
Tenants 1/	1,040	43	3.2	1,730	30	3.3
Under \$500	530	33	2.2	860	29	2.4
\$500 - \$999	810	42	3.2	1,050	29	3.7
\$1,000 - 1,999	1,380	44	3.4	2,090	31	3.3
\$2,000 and over	2,230	71	4.7	4,060	30	2.6

1/ Includes croppers in the open country.

Table 17.- Percentages of houses built of specified materials, by tenure and residence, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Residence and tenure	Number : of cases:	Percentages built of -			
		Wood	Brick or stucco	Log	Other
Open country	1,730	87.3	3.3	4.7	4.7
Owners	1,176	87.7	3.5	4.0	4.8
Tenants	554	86.3	2.9	6.1	4.7
Town	761	89.2	9.2	.3	1.3
Owners	337	85.7	11.6	-	2.7
Renters	424	92.0	7.3	.5	.2

In the towns, however, about 9 percent, as compared with 3 percent of the rural families, occupied brick or stucco homes. For the most part these were concentrated in the high value groups. In contrast, about 5 percent of the farm families - largely those with a low level of living - were living in log houses. For example, 17 percent of the owners and 14 percent of the tenants with a value of living of less than \$500 reported houses of such construction. In the second value group, \$500 to \$999, only 6 percent of the owners and 7 percent of the tenants occupied log dwellings.

Modern household conveniences and facilities have always been more available to families in urban centers than to those of the open country. The original costs of installing running water, electricity, or telephones in homes of sparsely settled areas has been almost prohibitive. Consequently, it is not unusual that a greater proportion of the urban than of the rural families in Virginia reported the presence of these facilities.

Only 11 percent of the farm homes were lighted by electricity, 44/ as compared with 84 percent of the town homes (Table 18). In the open country 13 percent of the owners but only 8 percent of the tenant families reported electricity, while in the towns there was no difference in the owner and the renter homes in this respect. The contrast between the two residence groups was amplified by the fact that about the same proportion of the farm families used oil lamps as used electricity in the towns. While about three-fourths of the urban families had running water in the home, only 11 percent of the farm families had this convenience. Over three-fourths of the owners in the open country and about 88 percent of the tenants were dependent upon an outside well or spring for the water supply. It is interesting to note that in the urban areas more renters than owners were occupying houses with running water - although it would appear that the latter should set the pattern. The inference may be that the owners hesitate to install such facilities at their own expense while the landlord may readily install them in the hope of a better market for his house.

In the open country over 98 percent of the farm families studied were dependent upon a stove and/or a fireplace to provide heat for the dwelling while the proportion in the town was about 84 percent. A greater proportion of the urban than of the farm homes, and more owners than renters, had central heating. Almost all the farm homes with central heating systems were occupied by the owners (Table 18).

The family might have its own water system or an individual lighting plant, but the installation of a telephone is primarily contingent upon local facilities. To some degree ownership of a radio has become contingent upon the presence of electricity. About two-thirds of the farm families and one-third of the town families had neither of these facilities. More than

44/ A recent estimate of the proportion of homes on occupied farms equipped with high-line electricity in 1937 was 13.0 percent for the State and 8.5 percent for the 6 counties in this study. See Electricity on the Farms, Farm Journal, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1938.

Table 18.- Accessories and facilities of dwellings, by residence and tenure, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	Open country			Town		
	Total	Owners	Tenants	Total	Owners	Tenants
Heating System:						
Number of cases	1,729	1,175	554	760	336	424
Percentages having -						
Furnace	1.6	2.1	.5	16.4	20.8	13.0
Fireplace	4.3	3.5	6.0	2.4	1.5	3.1
Stove	84.4	85.2	82.9	73.2	74.4	72.1
Fireplace and stove	9.7	9.2	10.6	8.0	3.3	11.8
Lighting system:						
Number of cases	1,729	1,175	554	756	324	422
Percentages having -						
Electricity	11.2	12.8	7.8	84.4	84.7	84.1
Oil lamp	34.9	31.8	91.5	15.2	14.4	15.9
Gas	1.6	2.3	.2	.1	.3	-
Other	2.3	3.1	.5	.3	.6	-
Water Supply:						
Number of cases	1,726	1,173	553	759	337	422
Percentage having -						
Well	52.5	52.1	53.3	19.9	21.4	18.7
Spring	23.4	25.5	34.5	2.0	2.1	1.9
Piped into kitchen	4.0	4.8	2.4	7.4	7.7	7.1
Other piped in	7.2	8.7	4.0	38.0	64.7	70.6
Other	7.9	8.9	5.8	2.7	4.1	1.7
Other facilities:						
Number of cases	1,730	1,176	554	761	337	424
Percentages having -						
Radio alone	16.2	17.3	13.9	33.4	27.6	36.0
Telephone alone	8.3	11.1	3.2	7.1	10.4	4.5
Radio and telephone	8.7	11.1	3.6	25.4	23.4	18.3
No radio or telephone	65.2	59.5	77.3	33.1	29.7	35.8
Not reported	1.3	1.0	2.0	3.0	2.9	3.1

one-half of the town families and approximately one-fourth of the farm families had radios in their homes. In all groups more of the families had radios than had telephones and only about 9 percent of the farm families and 23 percent of the urban families had both conveniences (Table 18).

Recent years have witnessed an increase in the number of modern household conveniences in the farm home, particularly electrification, yet the town family remains superior to the farm in this respect. Among the town

groups renters compared favorably with owners, but tenure differences in the farm groups were magnified by the presence or absence of specified household facilities. It appeared that total income was a controlling factor in acquiring the facilities inasmuch as the reported facilities were concentrated in the higher value-of-living groups. On the basis of the proportion of homes with the particular conveniences, it appeared that, when other conditions permitted, the first convenience the families secured was a radio.

The homes of the town families were newer, more were equipped with modern facilities, and the average replacement value was greater. In both residence groups the owners were living in more expensive homes than the renters, and there was a very positive correlation between the value of living and the replacement value of the house (Table 16). ^{45/} Such evidence again substantiates the assumption that higher income groups will attempt to maintain or increase their status through better housing. The replacement value of the average open-country dwelling was \$1,650 as compared with \$2,210 in the towns. In both groups the dwelling of the owner was valued at a figure almost \$1,000 higher than that of the tenant. When related to total value of family living, replacement values revealed sharp contrasts. Open-country families with a value of living of less than \$500 reported \$760, while those with a value of living of \$2,000 or more reported \$3,930. For town families the range was even greater, or from \$920 to \$4,740. The lowest replacement value (\$530) was reported by the farm tenants with a value of living of less than \$500. It must be noted that over one-fourth of these families were residing in log houses; furthermore, the value of the dwellings occupied by the croppers had a very significant influence upon the average for all tenants.

Housing and Maintenance, by Tenure

The expenditures for rent, repairs, insurance, fuel, furniture, and other household furnishings and operations that are incurred to provide housing for the family have been categorically classified as housing and maintenance. ^{46/} Including furnished rent and fuel, the value of these combined items for the farm families was \$291, an amount representing slightly over one-fourth of the total family-living budget (Table 19). The urban families allocated 35 percent, or \$471 to this purpose. As measured by these values the effort to secure social status through better housing was more pronounced in the towns than in the open country. Much of this difference was accounted for in the higher replacement value, which in turn reflected a higher rental value, of the urban home. Concurrently, the town family must spend more for furnishings and operation of the relatively better dwelling with more household facilities and conveniences. Furthermore, the town family must purchase about all the fuel consumed, whereas

^{45/} A definite relationship is to be expected because of the method of determining rental value of the house. See appendix, Methodological Note.

^{46/} See appendix, Methodological Note, for explanation of the methods of grouping. Ten percent of the replacement value of the dwelling was assumed to represent rent.

the farm family can secure at a minimum expense most of the fuel needed. The greater self-sufficiency of the farm group was indicated, inasmuch as they reported 56 percent of the housing and maintenance as furnished while for the town families this proportion was only 33 percent.

In respect to the value of housing and maintenance, differences between the various tenure groups were very great. Whereas 28 percent of the budget of the farm owner (\$344) was devoted to procuring and maintaining a dwelling for his family, the renter allocated 21 percent of the total budget (\$198) to this purpose. The cropper reported \$126 (17 percent of the total), but three-fourths of that amount was made up of furnished fuel and rent. The cropper and his family lived in a house with a low evaluation and spent only about \$22 for furnishings, equipment, and household operation. For all housing and maintenance town owners reported an average of \$576 (43 percent of which was furnished), an amount which represented a little over one-third of the total budget. Urban renters, on the other hand, reported \$387, or over one-third of the total budget.

County variations in the average value of housing and maintenance were large and in all counties there was a wide gap between the housing and maintenance of the tenants and the owners (Table 19). For all open-country families this item ranged from \$213 in Prince Edward County to \$359 in Culpeper. The lowest values for all tenure groups were shown in Prince Edward County and the highest, with the exception of renters, were recorded in Culpeper. On the basis of the amount devoted to this purpose, the counties tended to be equally divided; the tobacco counties, Halifax and Prince Edward, and Wythe in the southwest reported very low amounts and the remaining showed higher expenditures. Since a greater part of this difference could be attributed to rent alone, it is to be observed that the dwellings in these three counties were generally inferior to those in Nansemond, Rockbridge, and Culpeper. In Halifax and Prince Edward the tobacco farmer's dwelling appeared comparable with the dwelling of the mountain farmer in Wythe.

The values reported by town families for housing and maintenance showed much greater variation between the counties (from \$380 in Halifax to \$636 in Rockbridge) than was the case for farm families. Counties which showed a low or high value of housing and maintenance for the rural families in relation to the other counties also tended to show a comparable relationship on the basis of the value of housing and maintenance for the urban families. The most significant exception was in Prince Edward in which the value of housing and maintenance for the farm families was lower than in any other counties, while the value for urban families was exceeded only by those in Rockbridge. It thus appears, on the basis of the value of housing and maintenance, that within a county there may be some relationship between the housing conditions of the urban and of the rural areas. In this study the value of housing and maintenance of the urban group had about the same relationship to urban groups of other counties as the rural group had to other rural groups.

Table 19.- Average value of housing and maintenance per family, percentage furnished, and percentage that housing and maintenance was of total value of family living, by residence, tenure, and county of survey, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	6 selected counties						
	Total	Culpeper	Halifax	Nansemond	Edward	Rockbridge	Wythe
Average value:							
Open country	\$290.6	\$358.9	\$242.3	\$311.7	\$213.3	\$323.6	\$255.9
Owners	344.5	402.3	298.6	365.0	262.5	374.3	284.5
Renters	198.2	222.4	184.7	247.0	150.0	191.7	203.5
Croppers <u>2/</u>	126.2	197.3	112.5	143.1	97.3	177.1	104.0
Town	470.9	476.2	380.1	413.4	569.4	635.7	381.4
Owners	576.3	558.5	592.1	516.4	721.3	751.6	423.9
Renters	387.3	426.5	313.1	341.0	436.9	527.2	334.5
Percentage of total:							
Open country	25.7	28.2	22.1	26.1	21.3	28.7	25.3
Owners	27.6	30.0	23.7	27.2	23.3	30.6	26.5
Renters	21.0	21.5	19.6	23.5	17.6	21.3	25.0
Croppers <u>2/</u>	17.5	16.7	18.2	23.7	13.2	23.1	15.2
Town	35.4	34.7	31.8	34.1	35.8	42.1	32.8
Owners	37.0	36.3	33.2	35.6	38.1	45.7	33.2
Renters	33.0	33.5	31.1	32.6	32.8	38.2	32.2
Percentage furnished:							
Open country	56.3	54.0	54.7	49.5	59.2	64.0	58.3
Owners	55.0	51.3	51.5	47.1	57.7	64.5	58.6
Renters	57.9	63.3	60.3	52.3	67.9	52.8	49.9
Croppers <u>2/</u>	74.6	84.1	72.4	77.6	63.6	82.8	75.1
Town	32.9	33.2	21.5	28.3	32.0	45.6	26.7
Owners	42.8	40.6	31.5	40.5	34.2	58.4	41.7
Renters	21.1	21.5	15.6	14.0	29.0	28.5	9.7

1/ Includes 158 families in other counties adjacent to those studied.

2/ See footnote 16, p. 14.

There was little consistency between the various groups in the proportion of the total budget that was set aside for housing and maintenance. For farm owners the proportion ranged from 23 percent in Prince Edward to 31 percent in Rockbridge. Among the tenants the proportion ranged from 18 to 24 percent for the renters and from 14 to 24 percent for the croppers. In all of the counties residence in the towns demanded that a larger proportion of the budget be allocated to housing; ordinarily this was about

one-third, but it was almost one-half of the total for owners in the towns studied in Rockbridge.

Housing and Maintenance, by Value-of-Living Groups

An increase in the total value of living reflected a very definite increase in the average value of housing and maintenance for all residence and tenure groups (Table 20). As it was shown that families in the higher value brackets had better homes with more facilities, it may also be observed that they spent more in equipping and maintaining these homes. For example, the farm families in the highest value-of-living group reported housing and maintenance that was almost ten times that of the families with a total value of less than \$500. In the towns the spread between the families in the highest and lowest value-of-living groups was not quite so great.

The influence of greater income and the attainment of, or the attempt to attain, a higher status in the community upon housing was particularly in evidence for the farm owners since the average value of housing and maintenance for those in the lowest value group was \$103 as compared with \$855 for those in the highest. The position of the renters and croppers did not encourage high expenditures for housing and maintenance and the increase in the various brackets was not so great as for the owners. Compare, for example, renters and owners with a total value of living of more than \$2,000. The former reported an average value of housing and maintenance of \$449 - slightly more than one-half as much as the owners in the same group. Croppers with the highest level of living reported an average of only \$190. In the towns the value of housing increased from \$142 for those with a value of living of less than \$500 to \$1,040 for those in the highest value group.

Only the open-country owner and cropper families failed to show a consistent, though not identical, relationship between the total value of living and the proportion allocated to housing and maintenance. Both groups of town families reported a decreasing proportion of the total budget devoted to this purpose as the value of living increased. Open-country renters in all value groups reported housing and maintenance as approximately 21 percent of the total. Farm owners in the value groups under \$2,000 showed a decreasing proportion of the total as necessary for housing and maintenance as the total value increased but those families in the highest value group reported 33 percent, a proportion higher than that reported even in the low value group. The significance of housing in the budget of the town family may be emphasized by the fact that in all value groups more than one-third of the total went to housing and maintenance, a proportion considerably larger than was allocated by the farm families. In all value groups the town owner families allocated a much greater percentage of the total budget to this category than to food. It is perhaps significant that urban owners with a value of living of less than \$500 allocated 43 percent for housing and maintenance and 42 percent for food.

Table 20.- Average value of housing and maintenance per family, percentage furnished, and percentage housing and maintenance was of total family living, by residence, tenure, and value-of-living groups, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	:	:	Value-of-living groups		
	All	Under	\$500-	\$1,000-	\$2,000
	families	\$500	\$999	\$1,999	and over
Average value:					
Open country	\$290.6	\$687.1	\$158.5	\$294.8	\$822.2
Owners	544.5	102.5	175.9	315.3	855.4
Renters	198.2	76.9	140.7	255.2	449.2
Croppers	126.2	65.4	118.5	190.3	-
Town	470.9	142.0	266.3	494.4	1,040.2
Owners	576.3	153.9	285.8	547.5	1,101.1
Renters	387.3	128.8	256.7	457.7	899.0
Percentage of total:					
Open country	25.7	24.4	23.3	23.5	31.7
Owners	27.6	28.9	25.3	24.7	32.5
Renters	21.0	20.8	20.8	21.1	20.5
Croppers	17.5	18.7	18.9	15.7	-
Town	35.4	39.4	35.5	35.5	34.8
Owners	37.0	43.1	38.3	38.1	35.7
Renters	33.6	34.9	34.1	33.7	32.6
Percentage furnished:					
Open country	56.3	70.0	66.9	58.4	46.3
Owners	55.0	71.9	67.0	58.0	46.3
Renters	57.9	71.1	63.4	55.9	46.9
Croppers	74.6	63.5	74.4	77.9	-
Town	32.9	43.4	27.5	29.7	38.5
Owners	42.8	60.6	51.5	42.8	39.3
Renters	21.1	16.6	14.4	18.8	36.3

Generally, as the total value of living increased, the families purchased a larger part of the goods included in this category. For example, in the open country those families in the lowest value group furnished 70 percent of the total as compared with 46 percent for the families in the highest value group. The open-country croppers, however, increased the proportion furnished as the level of living increased. This fact indicates that croppers in the higher value groups were living in slightly better houses but were not making any noticeable outlays for furnishings and

equipment. 47/

Housing and Maintenance, by Size of Family

As the number of individuals in a family increases, the necessity for more space is greater, but such a demand is not necessarily met by the acquisition of larger dwellings. In all residence and tenure groups the proportion of the budget allocated to housing and maintenance decreased as the size of the family increased (Table 21). The greatest reductions in the proportions occurred between the families with from 3 to 5 members and those with 5 or more persons in the family. Neither did the presence of a very large family greatly influence the value of housing and maintenance. In all groups except the farm tenants, the value reported for this category by the families with 5 or more persons was lower than that reported by the two remaining family-size groups, and the highest was reported by the families with from 3 to 5 persons. For the farm croppers the greater values of housing and maintenance were reported by the larger families; however, the value in each group was low as compared with the owners. For example, the disparity between croppers and owners with respect to housing conditions is magnified by the fact that the croppers with 5 or more persons in the family reported \$139 as the value of housing and maintenance, while the owner families with less than 3 persons reported an average of \$368. Again, the town families reported higher values than the families of similar size in the open country. The value for town families who did not own their homes was greater than for those of the open-country families who occupied their own dwellings.

Housing and Maintenance, by Family Life Cycle

It has been shown that there is a peak in family history and that during this peak period the level of living and the size of family are highest. The positive relationship that existed between the average value of housing and maintenance and the total value of living was not broken when the third factor, the duration of the marriage union, was introduced. The average amount allocated to housing and maintenance tended to follow the four stages of the life cycle. Obviously, older families with a higher total value of living would attempt to attain status by better housing conditions. Families in the fourth, or last, stage of the life cycle showed smaller values than those in the preceding stage, but in the main the decrease was not great because apparently the families attempted to maintain the status reached in the peak of the life cycle. For renters in this final stage the average was even higher than for renters in the third stage (Table 62).

47/ If these croppers were residing in better dwellings, this fact would be reflected in the value of rent furnished; that occurred in this case. (See appendix, Methodological Note.)

Table 21.- Average value of housing and maintenance per family, percentage furnished, and percentage housing and maintenance was of total family living, by residence, tenure, and size of family, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	All families	Size of family (persons)		
		Under 5	5.0 - 4.9	5 or more
Average value:				
Open country	\$290.6	\$326.0	\$329.4	\$256.3
Owners	344.5	367.7	399.9	308.5
Renters	198.2	187.0	207.7	194.4
Croppers	126.2	112.6	122.3	139.4
Town	470.9	466.0	538.8	359.0
Owners	576.3	530.0	609.3	461.2
Renters	387.3	390.4	433.2	317.5
Percentage of total:				
Open country	25.7	31.6	28.3	21.6
Owners	27.9	32.7	30.2	23.3
Renters	21.0	24.7	22.7	18.7
Croppers	17.5	22.8	20.3	15.9
Town	35.4	39.3	36.0	28.0
Owners	37.0	41.2	36.5	28.2
Renters	33.6	36.6	35.3	27.9
Percentage furnished:				
Open country	56.3	60.0	58.8	56.9
Owners	55.0	60.1	58.1	54.3
Renters	57.9	54.7	57.3	59.4
Croppers	74.6	74.2	72.7	73.8
Town	32.9	39.9	30.3	24.8
Owners	42.8	49.3	38.7	36.1
Renters	21.1	25.0	20.0	18.2

Clothing

It has been suggested that in an individual's life the role of clothing is second in importance only to food. The elasticity of the demand for articles of wearing apparel tends to be very great, for clothing expenditures are seldom conditioned entirely by utility or physiological needs. The dictates of social custom, fashions, fads, and the effort to attain or maintain a certain social status in the community are more

likely to receive paramount consideration. As the family seeks status through more elaborate housing, the individual attempts to improve his status by the clothes he wears. Variations in wearing apparel sometimes evince conspicuous distinctions between social and economic classes.

Average Value, by Residence and Tenure

Town families spent more for clothing than the farm families and in both residence groups the owners spent more than the tenants. The 1,730 farm families reported an average of \$103 for clothing, or \$25 for each individual, while the town families reported an average of \$137 per family, or \$39 per capita (Tables 22 and 61). Clothing expenditures per farm family amounted to \$110 for the owners, \$96 for the renters, and \$68 for the croppers; reduced to per-capita expenditures, these ranged from \$14 for the croppers to \$28 for the owners. The town families who owned their homes expended \$150 for clothing, or about \$34 more than those who were residing in rented dwellings, while the per-capita expenditures were \$50 and \$32 respectively. Of the three open-country tenure classes owners devoted the smallest proportion of the total budget to clothing (9 percent) while the renters and croppers allocated about 10 percent each to this item. The town owners allocated 10 percent and the renters nearly 11 percent.

Clothing expenditures for the farm groups also displayed rather wide variations between the six counties, with the families in Prince Edward, Rockbridge, and Wythe Counties reporting expenditures much lower than those in the remaining counties (Table 22). The lowest expenditure for wearing apparel (\$51) was recorded by the croppers in Nansemond County and the highest (\$181) by the owners in the same county. Clothing expenditures of the families in the tobacco counties, Prince Edward and Halifax, showed some interesting points of difference. With the exception of those classified as croppers, the families in Halifax reported much higher clothing purchases than those in the dark-tobacco area. Furthermore, the families in Halifax devoted a relatively higher proportion of the total budget to clothing as compared with a majority of the other groups.

In all counties the urban families spent more for wearing apparel than did the farm families and the former tended to devote a greater proportion of the total budget to that purpose. The lowest expenditure by the urban groups (\$103) was reported by the renters in Nansemond while the owners in Halifax spent the largest amount (\$209). The importance of clothing in the budget of the urban family may be indicated by the fact that urban owners spent more than farm owners and, with but two exceptions, the urban renters expended more than the farm owners.

The proportion of the total value of family living that was allocated to this item varied between 7 and 12 percent for the various farm groups and between 8 and 14 percent for the urban families. To some degree the tenants tended to allocate a greater proportion of the total to that purpose than did the owners.

Table 22.- Average expenditure per family for clothing, and percentage this item was of total value of family living, by residence, tenure, and county of survey, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	6 selected counties						
	Total				Prince-George	Rock-	
	1/	Culpeper	Halifax	Nansemond	Edward	bridge	Wythe
Average amount:							
Open country	\$102.9	\$103.5	\$114.0	\$120.5	\$88.1	\$86.4	\$92.0
Owners	110.0	106.0	127.7	130.5	94.2	93.0	95.9
Renters	96.4	93.9	102.6	120.3	78.9	73.4	89.0
Croppers 2/	68.4	99.8	64.6	50.9	74.5	56.6	64.7
Town	136.8	126.7	141.1	115.7	137.2	135.8	162.0
Owners	155.9	150.0	209.2	134.0	158.8	138.8	179.5
Renters	121.6	115.1	119.6	103.2	118.4	133.2	144.0
Percentage of total:							
Open country	9.1	8.1	10.4	10.1	8.8	7.7	9.1
Owners	8.8	7.9	10.1	9.7	8.4	7.6	8.9
Renters	10.2	9.1	10.9	11.5	9.2	8.1	10.1
Croppers 2/	9.5	8.5	10.5	8.4	10.6	7.4	9.4
Town	10.3	9.4	11.8	9.5	8.6	9.0	14.0
Owners	10.0	9.8	11.7	9.2	8.4	8.4	14.1
Renters	10.6	9.0	11.8	9.8	8.9	9.7	13.9

1/ Includes 158 families in other counties adjacent to those studied.

2/ See footnote 16, p. 14.

Clothing, by Value-of-Living Groups

Inasmuch as the demand for clothing is somewhat elastic and subject to the whims of fashion and social dictates, it is obvious that there should be a positive correlation between the clothing expenditures and the total value of family living. Among the open-country families the amount spent for wearing apparel increased from \$30 for those with a total value of living of less than \$500, to \$224 for those in the highest value group (Table 23). In the towns the effect of a higher total value of living was manifested to an even greater degree by the sharp increase from \$28 to \$285. Obviously, the larger families in the higher value groups cannot be ignored, but even on a per-capita basis the expenditures for clothing are greater in the higher value groups.

On the basis of clothing expenditures as related to total value of living some interesting points of difference between the various groups were apparent. The farm families with a value of living of less than \$500 spent slightly more for clothing than did the urban families in the same

Table 23.-- Average expenditure per family for clothing, and percentage this item was of total value of living, by residence, tenure, and value-of-living groups, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	Value-of-living groups				
	All	Under	\$500-	\$1,000-	\$2,000
	families	\$500	\$999	\$1,999	and over
Average amount:					
Open country	\$102.9	\$30.1	\$61.7	\$118.4	\$224.1
Owners	110.0	24.6	57.8	117.7	226.0
Renters	96.4	32.5	71.0	123.3	203.2
Croppers	68.4	38.7	60.1	109.6	-
Town	136.8	27.5	78.5	153.2	284.8
Owners	155.9	24.0	74.6	159.8	292.8
Renters	121.6	32.0	80.4	148.7	266.4
Percentage of total:					
Open country	9.1	8.5	9.1	9.4	8.6
Owners	8.8	6.9	8.3	9.2	8.6
Renters	10.2	8.8	10.5	10.2	9.3
Croppers	9.5	11.1	9.6	9.1	-
Town	10.3	7.6	10.5	11.0	9.5
Owners	10.0	6.7	10.0	11.1	9.5
Renters	10.6	8.8	10.7	10.9	9.7

value group; also, the tenants in both residence groups showed higher expenditures than the poorer owners. Moreover, among the farm families the higher level of living had a somewhat greater influence upon the clothing expenditures of the tenants than upon those of the owners. In the first three value groups the farm renters had higher clothing expenditures than the owners. In two of these groups (under \$500 and \$500 to \$999) the farm croppers reported greater clothing purchases than did the farm owners; however, as shown before, when all families are combined, the tenure distinctions on the basis of clothing purchases are apparent. It appeared that the families in the low value groups who did not own their own homes or farms were attempting to compensate somewhat for this or to increase their status by spending relatively larger sums for wearing apparel. This may be partially substantiated by the cropper families in the lowest value group whose clothing purchases were greater than those of the urban families.

The proportion of the total budget that was devoted to clothing somewhat approached a parabolic curve. In all residence and tenure groups except the croppers the proportion devoted to clothing increased in the first three value groups and decreased for those families with a total

value of living of more than \$2,000. As the total value of living increased for the cropper families the proportion allocated to clothing decreased. 48/ Except for the families in the lowest value-of-living group, the urban families devoted a higher proportion of the family budget to clothing than did the farm families and in both residence groups the tenants allocated a greater part than the owners. Town and rural owners in the lowest value group reported the smallest proportion (7 percent) of the total as spent for clothing, while the highest (11.1) was expended by urban owners in the \$1,000 to \$1,999 value group and by croppers with a total value of less than \$500.

Clothing, by Size of Family

More members in the family would logically place a greater requirement upon the family budget for clothing purchases, but it does not necessarily follow that per-capita expenditures would remain at the same level. The farm family with 5 or more persons spent an average of \$126 for wearing apparel while the family with less than 3 persons spent \$70 (Table 24). Town families with 5 or more persons expended an average of \$161, or \$53 more than the small family. In all tenure groups except the town renters, expenditures of the large family were almost twice as large as those of the small family.

When clothing expenditures were analyzed by the size of the family, the distinctions between the tenure groups were accentuated. Farm owners reported higher expenditures than the renters and the renters showed greater expenditures than the croppers. Only the urban renters with 5 or more persons in the family failed to show clothing purchases that were greater than those of any tenure class in the open country.

As the size of the family increased, the proportion of the total budget allocated to clothing also increased. The trend was consistent in each group of families except the croppers and urban renters. Farm owners with less than 3 members spent 7 percent of the budget for wearing apparel; those with 5 or more members spent 11 percent. For the renters the range was from 8 to 11 percent. Among croppers the size of family had little effect upon the proportion spent for clothing. That clothing expenditures occupied a relatively more important place in the urban than in the rural budget may be further indicated by the fact that town families expended from 8 to 13 percent, as compared with 7 to 11 percent for the farm group, of the total value of living for this purpose.

Clothing, by Family Life Cycle

Clothing expenditures followed very closely the stages of the life cycle, increasing as the age of the family increased (Table 62). As the children became older it cost more to provide them with wearing apparel,

48/ The significance of furnished goods to the cropper families with a higher level of living has been pointed out.

Table 24.- Average expenditure per family for clothing, and percentage this item was of total value of living, by residence, tenure, and size of family, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

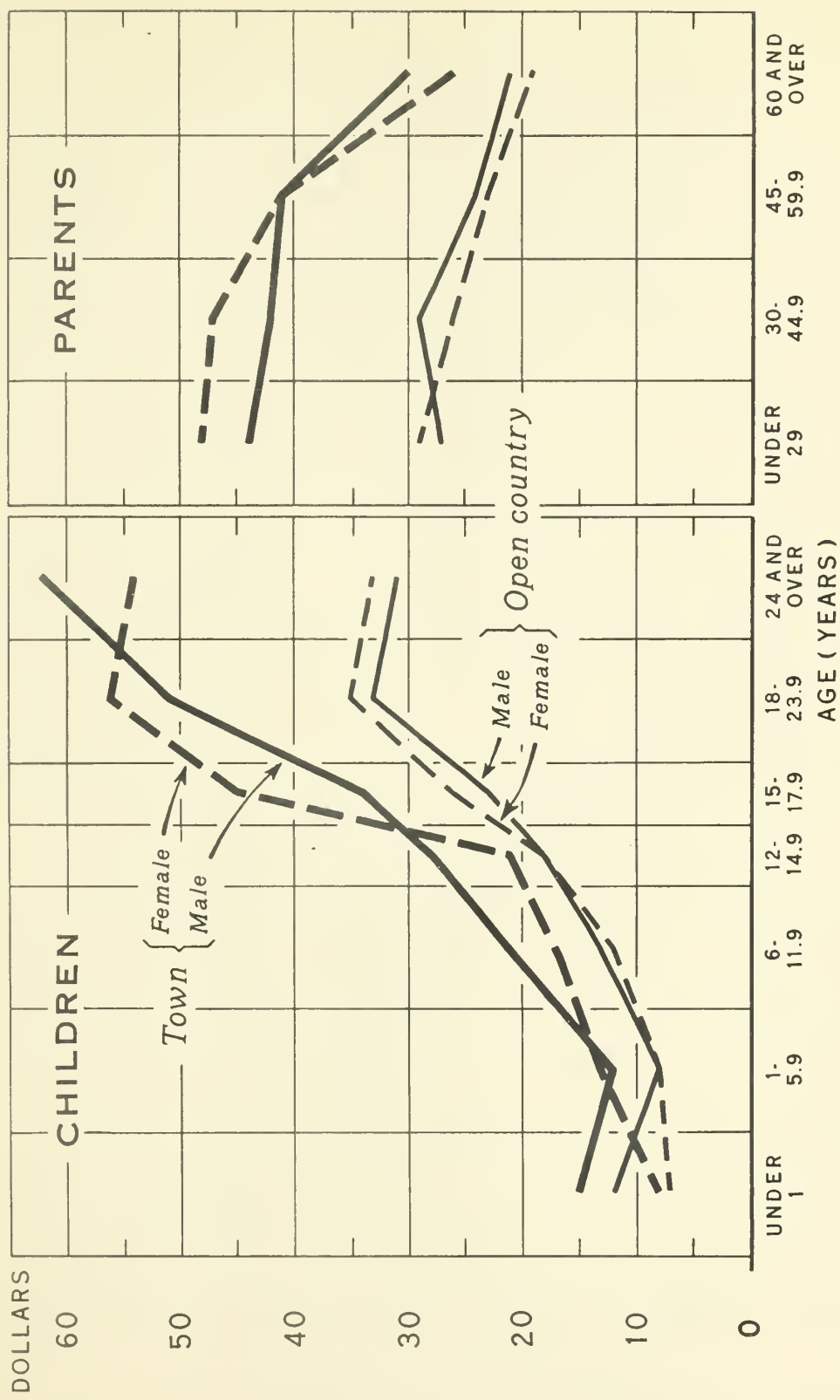
Item	: All families	Size of family (persons)		
		: Under 3	: 3.0 - 4.9	: 5 or more
Average amount:				
Open country	\$102.9	\$70.3	\$102.3	\$126.4
Owners	110.0	73.5	111.7	142.1
Renters	96.4	63.1	92.9	111.0
Croppers	68.4	46.8	57.0	84.4
Town	136.8	107.9	149.5	161.3
Owners	155.9	125.2	188.7	212.9
Renters	121.6	107.5	118.9	140.4
Percentage of total:				
Open country	9.1	6.8	8.8	10.6
Owners	8.8	6.5	8.4	10.7
Renters	10.2	8.3	10.1	10.7
Croppers	9.5	9.5	9.4	9.6
Town	10.3	9.1	10.0	12.6
Owners	10.0	8.4	10.3	13.0
Renters	10.6	10.1	9.7	12.3

and as they reached young adulthood clothing expenditures were highest. Thus, the highest expenditures were shown in the third stage of the life cycle, and expenditures of families in this stage represented a significant increase over those in the preceding life-cycle period. It is during this third period, just at the time of courtship and marriage or just prior to leaving home, that clothes are probably most important to the children.

Clothing, by Age and Sex

Numerous studies have shown that clothing expenditures increase as age increases and that highest expenditures for wearing apparel are made during the period of courtship and marriage. Often it is necessary for the parents to decrease their own clothing purchases in order that there be more made for the children. This was true for both open-country and urban families in Virginia. As the children and parents became older, the clothing expenditures of the former increased and those of the latter decreased (Fig. 4).

Although the clothing expenditures of the urban children were higher in all age groups than those of the open country, the pattern of such expenditures was almost identical. For the children under 15 years of age the expenditures for the sons were larger than for the daughters, but the

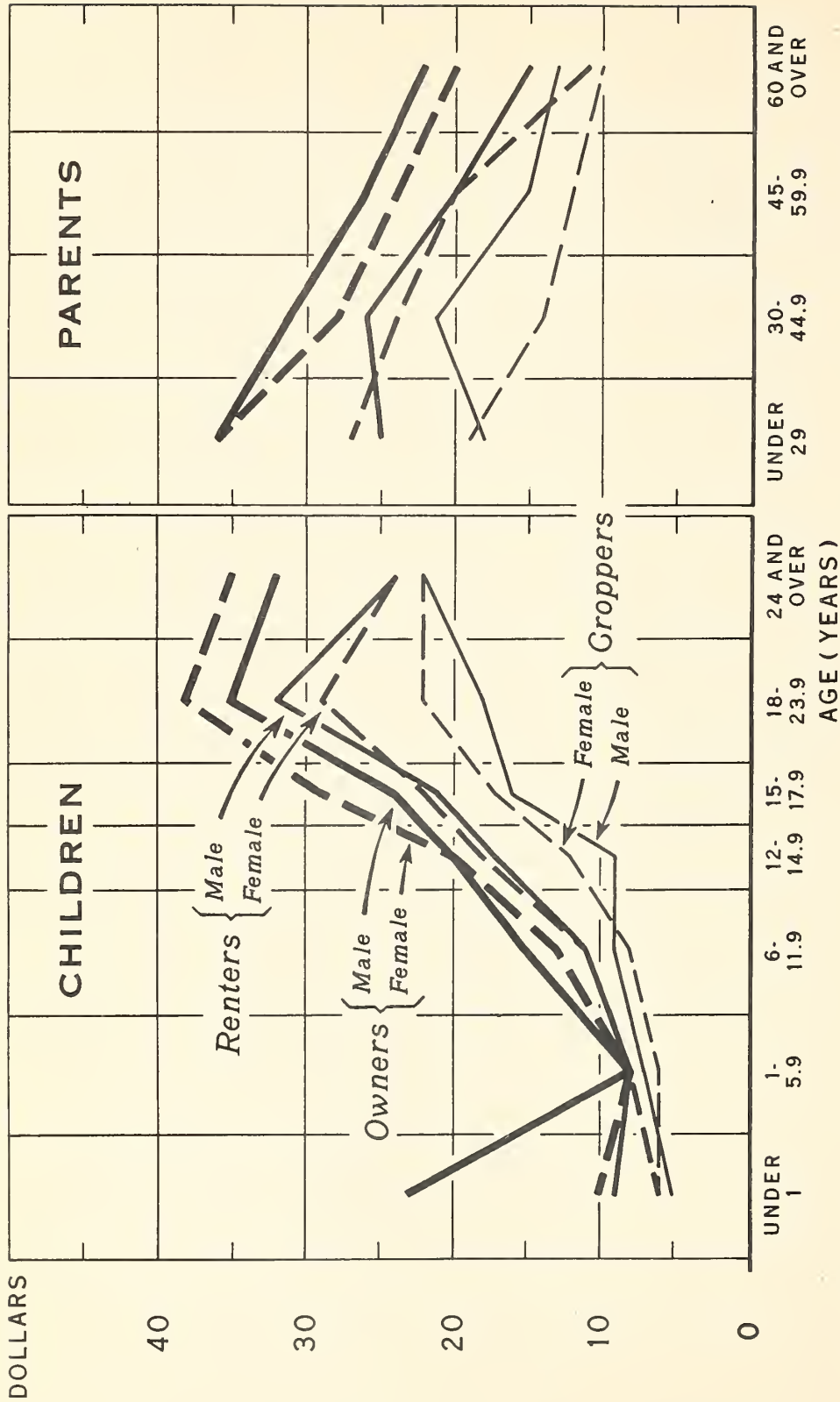


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FIGURE 4.— AVERAGE CLOTHING EXPENDITURES FOR OFFSPRING, MALE HEADS, AND HOMEMAKERS, BY AGE AND RESIDENCE, 6 VIRGINIA COUNTIES, 1935.



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FIGURE 5.- AVERAGE CLOTHING EXPENDITURES FOR OFFSPRING, MALE HEADS, AND HOMEMAKERS OF OPEN-COUNTRY FAMILIES, BY AGE AND TENURE, 6 VIRGINIA COUNTIES, 1935.

reverse was true for those 15 years of age and over. Also, after the children reached 15, the increase was more rapid for the daughters than for the sons. For example, the expenditure for the urban daughters from 12 to 15 years of age was \$21, while an average of \$45 was spent for those from 15 to 18 years of age. Highest expenditures for all children except the urban sons were recorded in the group 16 to 24 years of age, approximately the age of courtship and marriage. With the exception of urban males, children over 24 years of age still residing in the parental home reported slightly less than those of the previous age group.

The average clothing expenditure for the urban parents was \$40 for the male and \$42 for the female. In the rural group, clothing expenditures for the male head were \$25 and for the homemaker \$1 less. Regardless of residence, clothing expenditures of the parents declined with an increase in age. Farm wives reported less in all groups than did the husbands, but up to the age of 60 years or more the town wives reported larger purchases of clothing than did the husbands.

In each tenure group there was little differentiation between sons and daughters with respect to the amounts spent for their clothes, for the former demanded more during earlier years whereas the latter demanded more as they became older. Hence, the variations in clothing expenditures by age groups had little or no effect upon the averages for all sons and all daughters within a specified tenure classification. The pattern of expenditures for both parents and children of each tenure group in the open country followed trends almost identical to those for both residence groups irrespective of tenure. For all age groups the owners spent more than the renters and the renters spent more than the croppers (Fig. 5).

Health, Births, and Deaths

Although in recent years the availability of medical facilities and services has increased very greatly, the farm family yet remains at a comparative disadvantage in its ability to command such services. The disadvantage may not be due entirely to lower income, but perhaps more directly to the isolation of the farmer. For a long time this isolation made it almost imperative that the family rely upon its own devices to cope with health problems. Consequently, a culture developed among rural people which was somewhat independent of professional or trained advice.

Open-country farm families in 6 counties of Virginia reported an average of \$49 for all expenditures related to births, deaths, and the maintenance of health, but the town family spent \$12 more for the same purposes (Table 25). ^{49/} Although there was relatively little difference in the

^{49/} There was comparatively little difference in the distribution of health expenditures by the rural and urban families among the principal items included in the category. The former allocated 39 percent, or 1 percent more than the urban families, for services of a physician. The only significant difference was in the proportion allocated to raw drugs. Logically, the farm families devoted more to this purpose than the urban group.

Table 25.- Average expenditure per family for health, births, and deaths, and percentage that these items were of total value of family living, by residence, tenure, and county of survey, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	6 selected counties						
	Total	Culpeper	Halifax	Nansemond	Edward	Rock-bridge	Wythe

Average amount:

Open country	\$49.0	\$54.5	\$43.8	\$58.7	\$50.2	\$48.3	\$42.6
Owners	54.9	58.5	51.6	67.9	57.2	57.1	44.0
Renters	41.1	37.4	37.1	51.0	43.5	27.5	47.1
Croppers <u>2/</u>	26.2	50.3	17.7	18.9	32.1	16.4	24.6
Town	61.1	72.4	40.1	63.3	65.7	70.6	59.2
Owners	73.3	80.7	54.7	103.1	71.6	79.7	61.0
Renters	51.1	69.9	35.3	34.7	60.7	62.1	57.8

Percentage of total:

Open country	4.3	4.3	4.0	4.9	5.0	4.3	4.3
Owners	4.4	4.4	4.1	5.0	5.1	4.7	4.1
Renters	4.3	3.6	4.0	4.9	5.1	3.0	5.3
Croppers <u>2/</u>	3.6	4.3	2.9	3.1	4.5	2.2	3.6
Town	4.6	5.3	3.4	5.2	4.1	4.7	5.1
Owners	4.7	5.3	3.1	7.1	3.8	4.9	4.8
Renters	4.4	5.5	3.5	3.3	4.6	4.5	5.5

1/ Includes 158 families in other counties adjacent to those studied.

2/ See footnote 16, p. 14.

proportion of the total budget that the various tenure groups allocated to this category of expenditures, there were pronounced variations in the amount spent per family. Farm owners spent an average of \$55, or \$14 more than the renters and more than twice the amount reported by the croppers. Per-capita expenditures for the maintenance of health emphasize differences between the tenure groups. For each member of the family the farm owner spent \$14, the renter \$9, and the cropper \$6 (Table 61). These expenditures were greater than those reported by the farm families in the more sparsely settled Appalachian Mountain region, 50/ but were much less than those of the urban owner and renter families in Virginia who reported a per-capita expenditure of \$24 and \$13 respectively.

As evidenced by the proportion of the total budget set aside for this purpose, there was relatively little difference in the emphasis or importance of health expenditures to the farm and urban families. That

50/ See Loemis, C. F., and Dodson, L. S., op. cit.

is, the farm family allotted 4.3 percent of the total budget to health, births, and deaths as compared with 4.6 percent for the urban families. Differences in the total value of living, however, resulted in a lower expenditure by the open-country group. In addition to the smaller expenditure, it is also generally true that the open-country family must pay more for medical services than the urban family. Thus the farm family expends less and, because of the higher cost, may not secure as much professional service for the amount spent as does the town family.

Expenditures for health, births, and deaths by the farm families in the individual counties ranged from \$43 in Wythe County to \$59 for those in Nansmond (Table 25). Although there was no great difference between the expenditures in the various counties, the families in the mountain and tobacco counties reported smaller expenditures than those in Culpeper and Nansmond. Generally, in all counties the owners and renters allocated about the same proportion of the total budget to this group of expenditures which, with the exception of those in Culpeper, was greater than the proportion the croppers allotted for health, births, and deaths. Again, in all counties but Halifax the urban group reported expenditures for health, births, and deaths that were larger than those of the rural group. Moreover, it should be noted that in one-half the counties the difference between the amounts expended by the urban owners and the urban renters for health purposes was much greater than the difference between the expenditures of farm owners and renters.

Health, Births, and Deaths, by Value-of-Living Groups

For all residence and tenure groups there was a positive relationship between the total value of family living and the amount expended for health, births, and deaths. Open-country families with a total value of living of less than \$500 spent \$10 for this purpose, while those with a total of \$2,000 reported \$125 (Table 26). The range in the amounts spent by the urban families was even wider - from \$10 by those with the lowest value of living to \$155 by those with a total value of living greater than \$2,000. Although it has been suggested that the farm family would spend less than the urban for health purposes, it was only for those families with a total value of living of more than \$1,000 that this difference appeared significant. Actually the less well-to-do farm owners and renters reported higher expenditures of this type than the urban owners with a similar value of living. Under the assumption that the amount spent may supply some indication of the extent to which families avail themselves of medical services, it appears that health problems were not confined to the rural areas but were also decidedly prevalent among the low-income urban groups. Within the farm group there was relatively little difference in the amounts expended for health, births, and deaths by the families in the various tenure groups with a total value of living of less than \$2,000. However, farm renters under this level spent slightly more than the owners.

As the level of living increased, a greater proportion of the family budget was devoted to this category, with the one exception that farm renters

Table 26.- Average expenditure per family for health, births, and deaths, and percentage that those expenditures were of total value of family living, by residence, tenure, and value-of-living groups, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	Value-of-living groups				
	All families	Under \$500	\$500 - \$999	\$1,000 - \$1,999	\$2,000 and over

Average amount:					
Open country	\$49.0	\$10.3	\$24.2	\$56.9	\$124.6
Owners	54.9	10.8	23.9	57.0	128.7
Renters	41.1	11.7	26.4	58.2	78.1
Croppers	26.2	8.5	21.0	51.4	-
Town	61.1	9.7	25.1	66.5	154.6
Owners	75.6	7.8	26.1	71.6	154.3
Renters	51.1	12.1	24.6	62.9	155.3

Percentage of total:					
Open country	4.3	2.9	3.6	4.5	4.8
Owners	4.4	3.1	3.5	4.5	4.9
Renters	4.3	3.2	3.9	4.8	3.6
Croppers	3.6	2.4	3.3	4.3	-
Town	4.6	2.7	3.3	4.8	5.2
Owners	4.7	2.2	3.5	5.0	5.0
Renters	4.4	3.3	3.3	4.6	5.6

in the highest value-of-living group reported a proportion slightly lower than that reported by farm renters with total values ranging from \$500 to \$999. In most instances the proportions ranged from about 3 percent for the poorest families to approximately 5 percent for the relatively well-to-do families.

Health, Births, and Deaths, by Size of Family

The larger family with more children should necessitate greater health expenditures, yet for the families included in this study there was no consistent relationship between such expenditures and the size of the family. Actually, in most of the residence and tenure classes there was relatively little difference in the amounts spent by the three family-size groups. The farm families with from 3 to 5 persons reported larger expenditures for health purposes than either the smaller or larger families, but those with 5 or more individuals spent less for health maintenance than the families with less than 3 persons (Table 27). In the urban group the families with less than 3 resident members also reported a greater expenditure than families with more members. In the individual tenure groups the pattern of health expenditures as related to the size of the family

Table 27.- Average expenditure per family for health, births, and deaths, and percent ge that these expenditures were of total value of family living, by residence, temure, and size of family, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	All families	Size of family (persons)		
		Under 3	3.0 - 4.9	5 or more
Average amount:				
Open country	\$49.0	\$45.9	\$56.6	\$44.2
Owners	54.9	48.7	67.2	47.9
Renters	41.1	43.4	40.2	40.9
Croppers	26.2	18.1	20.8	32.9
Town	61.1	60.2	61.7	61.4
Owners	73.6	76.0	70.9	73.8
Renters	51.1	41.7	54.5	56.3
Percentage of total:				
Open country	4.3	4.4	4.9	3.7
Owners	4.4	4.3	5.1	3.6
Renters	4.3	5.7	4.4	3.9
Croppers	3.6	3.7	3.4	3.7
Town	4.6	5.1	4.1	4.8
Owners	4.7	5.9	3.9	4.5
Renters	4.4	3.9	4.5	4.9

varied and only in the cropper and urban renter groups did expenditures increase with an increase in the size of the family.

The proportion of the total budget allocated by the various residence and temure groups to the category of health expenditures also varied and failed to show any consistent relationship with the size of family. Farm renters decreased the proportion allocated to this purpose as the size of the family increased; urban renters reported an opposite tendency; and farm croppers in each group devoted about the same proportion of the total to health expenditures. The proportions thus allotted by owners were very erratic; in the open country the owner families of medium size allocated a higher proportion (5 percent), and in the towns a lower proportion (4 percent), than those with less than 3 or more than 5 members.

Health, Births, and Deaths, by Family Life Cycle

The characteristics of the families in the various periods of the family history imply a definite relationship between the life cycle and the expenditures for health, births, and deaths. Perhaps the greatest expenditures for health should be made when the families are young and the number

of births is large, or perhaps when the families are older and the parents are approaching the infirmities of old age. However, for the groups included in this study there was no consistent relationship between the stage of the life cycle in which the families were classified and the period of greatest expenditures for health, births, and deaths (Table 62).

Farm owners in the first and fourth stages of the life cycle expended about the same for this purpose, an amount higher than that of the other two stages. These two stages in which the highest expenditures were made represent the two extremes, the first in which the families were young and a greater number of the births occurred, and the final stage in which the parents were approaching old age. Highest expenditures for the farm renters were recorded by those families formed from 10 to 19 years, while the greatest expenditures for urban families of the same tenure classification were reported by those in the last stage of the life cycle. For the remaining groups, urban owners and farm croppers, the relationship of health expenditures to the family life cycle was identical with that of the total value of living.

Advancement

In order to account for expenditures for formal education, social participation and recreation, and current reading material, the category of advancement has been included in the analysis of the family budget. The term advancement is an arbitrary designation because no effort is made to measure the extent to which such expenditures do contribute to the advancement of the family. Largely, the items included in this group do not represent the purchase of material goods, but are more often expenditures for purposes which imply psychic satisfactions for the individuals. For those primarily interested in the non-material aspects of family living, advancement expenditures are of major importance. To them, raising the cultural attainments and increasing the participation of the individual in group and community activities constitute the first step in the improvement of the level of living of a group of people.

Advancement, by Residence and Tenure

The scattered settlement of families in rural areas has not encouraged the rapid growth of organized social activities, recreational, and educational facilities that occurred in the urban areas. Absence of such facilities has long limited the participation of the rural family as compared with the urban. The farm family in Virginia spent an average of \$45, or about 4 percent of the total budget, for advancement purposes (Table 28). About one-half of this amount was spent for social participation and recreation, which included duos, contributions, admissions to movies, theaters, and entertainment. Approximately \$17 was relegated to the purchase of school books, supplies, and payment of tuition, and the remaining \$5 was used to buy current reading material.^{51/} The urban families,

^{51/} Approximately 48.2 percent of the families reported no magazine in the home and 33.6 percent did not subscribe to a current newspaper. See p. 106.

Table 28.- Average expenditure per family for advancement, and percentage this item was of total value of family living, by residence, tenure, and county of survey, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	6 selected counties						
	: Total :	: Prince George :					
		: 1/ :	: Culpeper :	: Halifax :	: Nansemond :	: Edgecombe :	: Wayne :

Average amount:

Open country	\$45.2	\$52.7	\$40.7	\$55.4	\$42.0	\$42.2	\$30.0
Owners	56.5	62.0	54.5	71.6	54.9	51.1	34.0
Renters	24.3	22.3	26.1	33.3	20.2	20.9	19.2
Croppers <u>2/</u>	13.9	25.2	11.9	11.7	15.2	11.3	12.9
Town	77.7	80.7	68.7	65.1	115.9	97.8	45.4
Owners	106.3	115.0	143.9	86.3	140.8	132.0	46.7
Renters	55.0	51.8	45.0	50.5	94.1	65.8	45.1

Percentage of total:

Open country	4.0	4.1	3.7	4.6	4.1	3.8	3.0
Owners	4.3	4.6	4.3	5.3	4.9	4.2	3.2
Renters	2.5	2.2	2.8	3.2	2.4	2.2	2.2
Croppers <u>2/</u>	2.0	2.2	1.9	1.9	2.2	1.5	1.9
Town	5.8	5.9	5.8	5.4	7.3	6.5	3.9
Owners	6.8	7.4	8.1	6.0	7.4	8.1	3.7
Renters	4.7	4.0	4.5	4.9	7.1	4.7	4.3

1/ Includes 158 families in other counties adjacent to those studied.

2/ See footnote 16, p. 14.

with easily accessible recreational facilities, well organized activities, and advanced schools expended an average of \$78 for advancement, or about 6 percent of the total family-living budget. More than one-half of this amount was spent for social participation and recreation, \$23 for education, and \$10 for reading materials.

Variations in the amount expended for advancement revealed some pronounced differences between the tenure classes of both residence groups. The farm-owner family spent an average of \$57 for such items, as compared with \$24 for the renters and \$14 for the croppers. Thus, while the owners spent relatively small amounts per family for advancement, farm tenants were limited to an even greater extent in this respect. This fact may be emphasized by a comparison of the per-capita expenditures. For each individual in the family of the farm owner such expenditures were \$14, which was two and one-half times the amount expended in the renter family and four and one-half times that reported by the croppers (Table 61). There was also a significant difference in the proportion of the total budget allocated to this purpose by the various tenure groups. Farm croppers and

renters allocated only about 2 percent, whereas the proportion was almost 5 percent for the owners, and even in the urban group the contrast was almost as sharp. The town owners spent \$106 for advancement whereas the urban renter expended only \$55.

County differences in respect to the amount spent for advancement purposes were pronounced, especially in the urban group. The highest amount expended for advancement purposes by the open-county families was reported by those in Nansemond County while those in Wythe County expended the smallest amount. Advancement expenditures of the croppers were small and there was less variation in the expenditures of this group between the individual counties than the other tenure groups.

Urban families in Wythe spent an average of \$45 while those in Prince Edward reported an expenditure of \$116. In the counties of Rockbridge, Culpeper, Halifax, and Prince Edward there was perhaps no other category of family-living goods in which there was so much evidence of difference between the urban owners and renters as in the amounts expended for advancement purposes.

Advancement, by Value-of-Living Groups

As evidenced by the relationship with the total value of living, the demand for advancement goods was very elastic. In the lower value groups such expenditures were of necessity limited and only a very small proportion of the total was allocated to this purpose, but as the income and total value of living increased, the proportions increased greatly for all families (Table 29).

Advancement expenditures of the farm family with a total value of living of less than \$500 were \$6, while those in the highest value group reported an average of \$165. Such expenditures for the urban families increased from \$8 in the lowest value group to \$257 for those families with a total value of \$2,000 or more. Again there was relatively little difference between the poorest farm and urban groups. But as the total value increased disparities became more manifest; for example, farm owners with a total value of living of \$2,000 or more spent \$174 for advancement while town owners in the same group spent \$273.

With the exception of the urban tenants, each of the residence and tenure groups reported that from 50 to 55 percent of the total advancement expenditures were made for social participation and recreation. The proportion allocated for educational purposes varied from 22 percent for the urban tenants to 40 percent for the farm owners. Although the amounts expended for the items of advancement increased with the total value of living, the proportion each was of the total advancement expenditures varied somewhat erratically. Expenditures for education represented a larger proportion of advancement goods for both open-country and town families as the value of living increased, and those for reading materials constituted a smaller proportion. But while the proportion allocated to social participation tended to show an inverse relationship with total value of living for the farm

Table 29.- Average expenditure per family for advancement, and percentage this item was of total value of family living, by residence, tenure, and value-of-living groups, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	Value-of-living groups					
	All families	Under \$500	\$500- \$999	\$1,000- \$1,999	\$2,000 and over	
Average amount:						
Open country	\$45.2	\$6.2	\$15.2	\$45.2	\$165.3	
Owners	56.5	7.4	17.1	49.7	173.7	
Renters	24.3	4.5	13.2	35.1	70.1	
Croppers	13.9	5.0	10.6	28.2	-	
Town	77.7	8.3	24.9	66.1	256.9	
Owners	106.3	8.0	27.8	71.1	278.4	
Renters	55.0	8.8	23.5	62.7	206.9	
Percentage of total:						
Open country	4.0	1.7	2.2	3.3	6.4	
Owners	4.5	2.1	2.4	3.9	6.6	
Renters	2.5	1.2	1.9	2.9	3.2	
Croppers	2.0	1.5	1.7	2.3	-	
Town	5.8	2.3	3.3	4.8	8.6	
Owners	6.8	2.2	3.7	4.9	9.0	
Renters	4.7	2.4	3.1	4.0	7.5	

families, a direct relationship tended to exist for the town families.

The distribution of advancement expenditures among the various items varied so within the tenure groups that generalizations would be without basis. It did appear, however, that as income or total value of living increased, expenditures for education received major emphasis, a larger proportion of the advancement expenditures being allocated to that purpose at the possible expense of current reading material. Among the open-country families a still smaller proportion was allocated to social participation and recreation in order that more could be spent for educational purposes.

Advancement, by Size of Family

As in expenditures for health, there was no consistent trend among the various tenure groups when advancement expenditures were related to size of family. Primarily, the larger family places a greater strain upon the family budget because of its greater demand for goods to meet its physiological requirements. When the total value of living is low in relation to the size of the family, advancement expenditures would possibly be among

the first curtailed. The absence of consistent trends among advancement expenditures may emphasize the elasticity of such expenditures. In both open country and towns the families with less than 3 members allocated a larger proportion to this category than the families with 5 or more persons. Among the owners in both residence groups the highest expenditures were made by the families of medium size. Renters and croppers in the farm group with very low expenditures for advancement in any case, expended increasing amounts as the size of the family increased, while the urban renters reported an opposite tendency (Table 30).

Table 30.- Average expenditure per family for advancement, and percentage this item was of total value of family living, by residence, tenure, and size of family, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	All families	Size of family (persons)		
		Under 3	3.0 - 4.9	5 or more
Average amount:				
Open country	\$45.2	\$41.8	\$50.4	\$42.7
Owners	58.5	48.9	64.8	54.9
Renters	24.2	16.7	23.9	27.5
Croppers	13.9	8.4	11.9	17.4
Town	77.7	83.3	81.7	61.3
Owners	106.3	101.4	118.7	87.0
Renters	55.0	62.2	52.9	51.0
Percentage of total:				
Open country	4.0	4.0	4.3	3.6
Owners	4.5	4.4	4.9	4.2
Renters	2.5	2.2	2.6	2.7
Croppers	2.0	1.7	2.0	2.0
Town	5.8	7.0	5.4	4.8
Owners	6.8	7.9	6.5	5.3
Renters	4.7	5.8	4.3	4.5

Advancement, by Family Life Cycle

Expenditures by the families for social participation, recreation, education, and reading had the same relationship to the family life cycle as the total value of living. That is, as the family became older the expenditures for advancement increased up to the fourth stage of the family history, at which point they decreased as the children were leaving home (Table 62).

As the duration of the family union lengthened, however, the relative importance of the various items encompassed in the category of ad-

vancement changed. Generally, the young families devoted a large amount of these total expenditures to social participation and recreation. As the children became older, however, more was spent for education and a lower proportion for social participation and recreation. Although the older families with more children reported larger expenditures for advancement than the younger families, it was still necessary to make some revisions in the distribution of the total among the various items of advancement. Thus, in order that more might be spent for education of the children, less was spent for recreational purposes. Current reading material also appeared of more importance to the older families.

Automobile

By some measures the automobile has become of such importance to the family that it might be considered an integral part of family well-being. It has reduced isolation of the farm family from the market, the facilities and organizations of the urban areas, and relationships with other families. Frequently, a second-hand automobile, the first convenience the family secures, is maintained at the expense of some of the "necessities" of living. In some areas this tends to be more prevalent than in others, particularly in sparsely settled sections where the family car or truck is a near-necessity. Moreover, in some cases automobiles have encouraged part-time farming because the family may live in the rural area while engaging in industrial employment. For the urban family, the family car may represent evidence of the status of the family and in some cases would be classified as conspicuous consumption.

Automobile Expenditures, by Residence and Tenure

The significance of the automobile to the farm families in Virginia may be indicated by the average expenditure of \$118 which represented 11 percent of the total value of living (Table 31). ^{52/} In both proportion and amount this exceeded values for clothing and for health and advancement expenditures combined. The urban families spent \$114, or 9 percent of the total budget, for the upkeep and maintenance of an automobile. The farm owners allocated 11 percent of the budget to the family automobile, or 2 percent more than the town families and farm renters and 4 percent more than the cropper families.

Approximately 57 percent of the farm families reported an automobile and the average expenditure for those families who owned one was approximately \$207. In Wythe County 45 percent of the farm families owned an automobile while the highest proportion, 63 percent, was recorded in Culpeper and Manassas Counties. The family automobiles varied from a relatively few new cars to a greater number of older models. Actually, a slightly greater proportion of the cars owned by farm families were models of 1929 or earlier.

The lowest expenditures for automobiles by the farm operators were made by those in the three western counties, while the counties in which

^{52/} Expenses for automobiles apply only to a car; no expenses incurred for operation of a truck have been included. See appendix, Methodological Note.

Table 31.- Average expenditure per family for automobile, and percentage this item was of total value of family living, by residence, tenure, and county of survey, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	6 selected counties						
	Total				Prince:Rock-		
	1/	Culpeper:	Halifax:	Nansemond:	Edward:	bridge:	Wythe
Average amount:							
Open country	\$118.1	\$ 98.1	\$155.4	\$140.4	\$109.3	\$ 98.7	\$ 85.2
Owners	138.5	102.7	193.6	175.2	135.8	107.6	103.8
Renters	87.2	60.0	118.4	102.1	69.2	84.7	34.8
Croppers 2/	46.6	162.8	52.4	16.9	50.4	48.4	10.9
Town	113.5	134.5	108.7	80.1	180.7	100.8	86.6
Owners	142.1	142.1	235.8	100.8	183.6	115.8	107.3
Renters	90.8	135.9	68.6	66.5	178.3	86.8	62.7
Percentage of total:							
Open country	10.5	7.7	14.2	11.8	10.9	8.8	8.4
Owners	11.1	7.7	15.4	13.0	12.1	8.8	9.6
Renters	9.2	5.8	12.6	9.7	8.1	9.4	3.9
Croppers 2/	6.5	13.8	8.5	2.8	7.1	6.3	1.6
Town	8.5	9.8	9.1	6.6	11.3	6.7	7.5
Owners	9.1	9.2	13.2	7.0	9.7	7.0	8.4
Renters	7.9	10.7	6.8	6.3	13.3	6.3	6.0

1/ Includes 158 families in other counties adjacent to those studied.

2/ See footnote 16, p. 14.

a one-crop type of farming was more prevalent reported the highest expenditures. Among the various tenure groups the same was true, with the exception that tenants in Rockbridge County expended more than did tenants in Nansemond, and croppers in Culpeper reported expenditures greater than those of the owners. Because of its value in transporting tobacco to market the automobile is particularly important to the family in the tobacco area; consequently, those families tended to allocate a relatively large proportion of the budget to such a conveyance.

Automobile expenditures made by the town families varied from \$87 per family in Wythe County to \$181 for the urban families in Prince Edward. In Culpeper and Prince Edward there was comparatively little difference in this respect between owners and renters but in the other counties the owners reported much higher expenditures than the renters.

Automobile Expenditures, by Value-of-Living Groups

The pronounced influence of a higher level of living upon automobile expenditures was somewhat similar to that displayed when the value of housing and maintenance was related to the total value of living. In all groups the families with a total value of living of less than \$500 reported

only a few dollars for automobile expenditures, but farm and town families with a value of living of more than \$2,000 expended \$420 and \$412 respectively (Table 32). The importance of the automobile to the farm family may be emphasized by the fact that in all value groups the open-country families spent more and allocated a higher proportion of the total to this purpose than did the town families in corresponding groups. It should be noted that farm families in all tenure groups classified by value of living, including even the renters and croppers, tended to show higher expenditures than the town families.

Table 32.- Average expenditure for automobile per family, and percentage this item was of total value of family living, by residence, tenure, and value-of-living groups, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	Value-of-living groups					
	All	Under	\$500-	\$1,000-	\$2,000	
	families	\$500	\$999	\$1,999	and over	
Average amount:						
Open country	\$118.1	\$3.6	\$25.5	\$136.5	\$419.9	
Owners	138.5	2.8	27.2	138.3	415.9	
Renters	87.2	2.9	24.3	131.4	464.7	
Croppers	46.6	5.7	20.9	103.7	-	
Town	113.5	1.7	22.6	96.2	411.9	
Owners	142.1	2.0	20.9	70.3	413.8	
Renters	90.8	1.3	23.4	107.9	407.4	
Percentage of total:						
Open country	10.5	1.0	3.7	10.9	16.2	
Owners	11.1	.8	3.9	10.8	15.8	
Renters	9.2	.8	3.6	10.9	21.2	
Croppers	6.5	1.6	3.3	11.1	-	
Town	8.5	.5	3.0	6.9	13.8	
Owners	9.1	.6	2.8	5.5	13.4	
Renters	7.9	.4	3.1	7.9	14.0	

That the farmer does purchase an automobile as soon as income permits, or perhaps even at the expense of other items in the family budget, may be partially substantiated by the fact that the farm families with a value of living of less than \$500 allocated 1 percent of the total to automobiles, while those in the highest value group allocated 16 percent to that purpose. Although the tenants had less cash available, there was relatively little difference in the proportion of the total budget allocated to the automobile by each of the three open-country tenure groups in all value groups except the highest. Among the owners and renters in the urban groups with a level of living of less than \$1,000 there was

little difference in the proportion allocated to the automobile, but for those above this point the renters devoted a higher proportion of the budget to this purpose than did the owners. This may be considered as an added effort on the part of renters to compensate for non-ownership of the home.

Automobile, by Size of Family

Both open-country and town families with from 3 to 5 persons reported automobile expenditures that were somewhat higher than those of the other family-size groups, but within the residence groups the relationship was very erratic. Expenditures by the farm owners and renters followed the same pattern as that for all families combined, while automobile expenditures by the croppers increased as the size of family increased. Owner families in the urban areas also reported increasing expenditures in the larger families, while the urban renters followed the same tendency as did farm owners and renters (Table 33).

Table 33.- Average expenditure for automobile per family and percentage this item was of total value of family living, by residence, tenure, and size of family, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	All families	Size of family (persons)		
		Under 3	3.0 - 4.9	5 or more
Average amount:				
Open country	\$118.1	\$125.1	\$125.8	\$105.6
Owners	138.5	138.7	148.6	127.2
Renters	87.2	93.7	96.4	77.3
Croppers	46.6	28.6	33.0	62.6
Town	113.5	101.5	133.8	96.5
Owners	142.1	103.5	171.3	180.6
Renters	90.8	99.1	104.5	62.4
Percentage of total:				
Open country	10.5	12.1	10.8	8.9
Owners	11.1	12.3	11.2	9.6
Renters	9.2	12.4	10.5	7.5
Croppers	6.5	5.8	5.5	7.1
Town	8.5	8.6	9.0	7.5
Owners	9.1	8.1	9.3	11.1
Renters	7.9	9.3	8.5	5.5

The proportion of the total budget allocated to the automobile by the various family-size groups assumed varying patterns. Larger families, except among the croppers and the urban owners, devoted a smaller proportion of the total to the automobile than did the smaller families. Both

the exceptional groups tended to increase the proportion allocated to automobile maintenance as the size of the family increased.

Relationship of automobile expenditures to the various stages of the family life cycle was not so positive as that which existed for some of the other family-living categories. Open-country owners who had been married less than 10 years spent more for the family automobile than did those in the other life-cycle stages (Table 62). In the two middle stages of the life cycle farm renters reported amounts (\$102 and \$103) that were more than either the younger or the older marriage groups spent for this purpose. The croppers, however, reported amounts that increased through the first three stages and decreased in the fourth. Among the urban families, too, the relationship was erratic, although there was a general tendency for the families to increase expenditures for automobiles during the first stages and to decrease them in the final stage.

Incidentals

The category "Incidentals" includes toilet articles, personal care, tobacco, gifts for persons outside the family, beverages, candy, and

Table 34.- Average expenditure per family for "incidentals," and percentage this was of total value of family living, by residence, tenure, and county of survey, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	6 selected counties						
	Total						
		1/	Culpeper	Halifax	Nansemond	Edward:bridge	Wythe
Average amount:							
Open country	\$40.7	\$54.1	\$36.3	\$40.5	\$31.7	\$34.2	\$41.7
Owners	43.8	54.2	41.5	43.8	33.1	33.6	44.1
Renters	36.7	52.6	31.3	39.6	35.7	38.6	33.7
Croppers 2/	28.1	58.8	22.3	20.7	24.4	28.7	34.2
Town	67.2	69.4	57.1	52.4	83.3	53.5	89.2
Owners	74.4	73.1	83.0	62.9	84.4	44.3	96.3
Renters	61.5	70.1	49.0	45.2	82.3	62.1	82.7
Percentage of total:							
Open country	3.6	4.3	3.3	3.4	3.2	3.0	4.1
Owners	3.5	4.1	3.3	3.3	2.9	2.7	4.1
Renters	3.9	5.1	3.3	3.8	4.2	4.3	3.8
Croppers 2/	3.9	5.0	3.6	3.4	3.5	3.8	5.0
Town	5.0	5.2	4.8	4.3	5.2	3.6	7.7
Owners	4.8	4.8	4.7	4.3	4.4	2.7	7.6
Renters	5.3	5.5	4.8	4.3	6.2	4.5	8.0

1/ Includes 158 families in other counties adjacent to those studied.

2/ See footnote 16, p. 14.

spending money. Expenditures by the average open-country family totaled \$41 (4 percent of the total budget), which represented approximately \$10 per capita (Tables 34 and 61). The town family, on the other hand, allo-

Table 35.- Average expenditure per family for "incidentals," and percentage this was of total value of family living, by residence, tenure, and value-of-living groups, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	Value-of-living groups				
	Total	Under	\$500-	\$1,000-	\$2,000
		\$500	\$999	\$1,999	and over
Average amount:					
Open country	\$40.7	\$12.4	\$23.9	\$46.1	\$92.7
Owners	43.8	10.6	22.5	45.8	93.6
Renters	36.7	11.4	26.1	47.7	82.9
Croppers	28.1	16.3	25.9	42.4	-
Town	67.2	13.0	34.2	74.0	152.8
Owners	74.4	9.4	30.9	69.2	155.2
Renters	61.5	17.6	35.8	77.3	147.4
Percentage of total:					
Open country	3.6	3.5	3.5	3.7	3.6
Owners	3.5	3.0	3.3	3.6	3.6
Renters	3.9	3.1	3.9	4.0	3.8
Croppers	3.0	4.7	4.1	3.5	-
Town	5.0	3.6	4.0	5.3	5.1
Owners	4.8	2.6	4.2	4.3	5.0
Renters	5.3	4.8	4.8	5.7	5.3

Table 36.- Average expenditure per family for "incidentals," and percentage this was of total value of family living, by residence, tenure, and size of family, 6 Virginia counties 1935

Item	All	Size of family (persons)		
	families	Under 3	3.0 - 4.9	5 or more
Average amount:				
Open country	\$40.7	\$36.9	\$40.2	\$43.9
Owners	43.8	39.6	43.9	47.6
Renters	36.7	26.2	36.6	40.6
Croppers	28.1	26.0	22.4	32.9
Town	67.2	55.4	76.8	69.3
Owners	74.4	51.3	96.4	85.2
Renters	61.5	60.3	61.4	62.9
Percentage of total:				
Open country	3.6	3.6	3.4	3.7
Owners	3.5	3.5	3.3	3.6
Renters	3.9	3.5	4.0	3.9
Croppers	3.9	5.3	3.7	3.7
Town	5.0	4.7	5.1	5.4
Owners	4.8	4.0	5.2	5.2
Renters	5.3	5.6	5.0	5.5

cated 5 percent of the budget, which amounted to \$67 per family, or \$19 per capita - almost twice as much as the farm individual spent for such articles. The tenant families allocated a larger proportion of the total family living to incidental expenses, but the average amount expended by the owners was greater.

In all groups there was a positive correlation between the amount expended for incidental items and the total value of family living, but the increase for the town families was more pronounced than for the open-country group (Table 35). Open-country families with a total value of less than \$500 expended \$12 for incidentals while those with a value of living of \$2,000 or more expended \$93. Among the town families the range was from \$13 to \$153. In both open-country and town groups the tenants reported greater incidental expenses than the owners in the value groups of less than \$2,000. The relationship between the proportion allocated to incidentals and the total value of living was erratic and generally there was little variation in the proportions allocated by the various groups. Again, however, the non-owners tended to set aside a proportion that was greater than that of the owners.

The relationship between the size of family and the amount expended for incidental purposes varied between the various groups. The farm owners and renters showed larger expenditures as the size of the family increased, while the cropper families with 3 to 5 persons reported lower expenditures than the smaller families of less than 3 persons. Among the town renters there was comparatively little difference between the incidental expenditures of the families of various sizes, but the urban owners with from 3 to 5 persons reported expenditures which were greater than those of the other family-size groups (Table 36).

Other Expenditures

Usually the family incurs expenses for personal taxes, payments on mortgages and other indebtedness, and transportation other than the automobile, all of which are chargeable to family living. Such expenditures have been grouped as "other" expenditures for family living. The farm families reported an average expenditure of \$15 for items included in this category as compared with \$22 for the town families, but there was almost no difference in the proportion of the total that the two groups allocated to this purpose (Table 37).

Inasmuch as payments on mortgages and other indebtedness relevant to family living constitute the most important item in the "other" group, it is logical that owners should report larger expenditures than the tenants. Thus "other" expenditures of the farm owners were \$19, or more than twice as much as the renters expended and three times as great as those reported by the croppers. Similarly, the town owners spent \$34 for such purposes - almost three times the amount expended by the renters.

Although there was a linear relationship between the expenditures

Table 37.- Average expenditure per family for items classified as "Other" and percentage this expenditure was of total value of family living, by residence, tenure, and county of survey, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	6 selected counties						
	Total						
	1/	Culpeper	Halifax	Nansemond	Edward	Rockbridge	Wythe

Average amount:

Open country	\$15.3	\$14.4	\$11.3	\$22.4	\$13.0	\$17.2	\$ 8.4
Owners	18.9	18.1	15.6	26.0	16.2	22.2	8.3
Renters	8.5	2.3	5.5	20.4	4.2	3.2	13.7
Croppers 2/	6.3	3.1	10.6	3.5	9.1	4.5	1.6
Town	21.8	27.2	29.0	11.7	15.7	22.6	13.4
Owners	33.7	36.1	35.7	17.7	24.2	27.0	19.3
Renters	12.5	19.8	11.1	7.4	8.3	18.4	6.3

Percentage of total:

Open country	1.4	1.1	1.0	1.9	1.3	1.5	.8
Owners	1.5	1.4	1.2	1.9	1.4	1.8	.8
Renters	.9	.2	.6	1.9	.5	.4	1.6
Croppers 2/	.9	.3	1.7	.6	1.3	.6	.2
Town	1.6	2.0	2.4	1.0	1.0	1.5	1.2
Owners	2.2	2.3	4.8	1.2	1.3	1.6	1.5
Renters	1.1	1.6	1.1	.7	.6	1.4	.6

1/ Includes 158 families in other counties adjacent to those studied.

2/ See footnote 16, p. 14.

for items included in this category and the total value of living, the families under the \$1,000 level reported relatively small amounts (Table 38). For those with total values that exceeded \$1,000 such expenditures were comparatively large. For the tenants only those with a value of living of more than \$2,000 showed any sizeable amounts expended for other purposes. Surprisingly enough, the farm tenants with a value of living of more than \$2,000 spent more for this purpose than the farm owners. Generally, there was some relationship between the proportion of the total allocated to the category "Other" and the total value of living. The relationship, however, was not consistent in all value and residence groups.

Town families with from 3 to 5 members reported larger expenditures for this category than the families of other sizes. In the farm group the owners and croppers reported larger expenditures for this category as the size of the family increased, but there was no such relationship for the renters (Table 39).

Table 38.- Average expenditure per family for items classified as "Other" and percentage this expenditure was of total value of family living, by residence, tenure, and value-of-living groups, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	:	:	Value-of-living groups			
	: Total	: Under	: \$500-	: \$1,000-	: \$2,000	
	:	: \$500	: \$999	: \$1,999	: and over	
Average amount:						
Open country	\$15.3	\$2.3	\$ 6.0	\$16.9	\$47.5	
Owners	18.9	2.5	6.9	20.0	46.4	
Renters	8.5	2.4	3.8	9.2	60.2	
Croppers	6.3	1.6	6.7	9.2	-	
Town	21.8	3.1	8.0	20.9	64.4	
Owners	33.7	3.7	12.5	34.1	68.0	
Renters	12.5	2.4	5.8	11.7	55.9	
Percentage of total:						
Open country	1.4	0.6	0.9	1.3	1.8	
Owners	1.5	.7	1.0	1.6	1.8	
Renters	.9	.6	.6	.8	2.7	
Croppers	.9	.4	1.1	.8	-	
Town	1.6	.9	1.1	1.5	2.2	
Owners	2.2	1.0	1.7	2.4	2.2	
Renters	1.1	.7	.8	1.9	2.0	

Table 39.- Average expenditure per family for items classified as "Other" and percentage this expenditure was of total value of family living, by residence, tenure, and value-of-living groups, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	: All :	Size of family (persons)		
	: families :	Under 3 :	3.0 - 4.9 :	5 or more
Average amount:				
Open country	\$15.3	\$15.3	\$13.9	\$16.7
Owners	18.9	17.3	17.7	21.7
Renters	8.5	9.5	6.4	9.8
Croppers	6.3	4.7	5.0	7.8
Town	21.8	15.4	31.0	15.9
Owners	33.7	22.2	44.4	39.3
Renters	12.5	7.4	20.4	6.4
Percentage of total:				
Open country	1.4	1.5	1.2	1.4
Owners	1.5	1.5	1.3	1.6
Renters	.9	1.3	.7	.9
Croppers	.9	.9	.8	.9
Town	1.6	1.3	2.1	1.3
Owners	2.2	1.7	2.4	2.4
Renters	1.1	.7	1.7	.6

Chapter III

CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

Up to this point the analysis of the level of living of white families in six counties of Virginia has been concerned primarily with the monetary value of goods and services consumed for family living, and no specific attention has been devoted to total cash receipts. Obviously, cash receipts are not the sole criterion of family living, but they do limit expenditures for family-living purposes. The farm family must draw heavily upon its total income for farm operation, and all families - whether farm or non-farm - tend to save some money as a cushion against future contingencies. It is, therefore, significant to consider the distribution of the total cash among the major expenditure items - in other words, to relate the individual segments to the complete financial status of the family.

Cash Receipts

The diversity of Virginia farming may be further indicated by the range in gross cash receipts. 53/ There are farm families who have limited funds available and who might correctly be considered as being at or below the poverty line. Similarly, there are farm families at the extreme top of the scale. One farm owner included in the study reported gross receipts of \$80 for the year while another reported \$11,583 for the same period. In the tenant group, however, the variation was not so widespread, ranging from \$120 to \$2,800.

The average amount of cash receipts for the farm families studied was \$1,052, of which 60 percent accrued from the sale of farm products and 23 percent from the wages of the operator or of some other member of the resident family (Table 40). Cash receipts for the town families amounted to \$1,312, of which 70 percent came from wages. Of additional interest is the fact that the town families received 25 percent of the cash receipts from "other sources," 54/ principally business operations, as compared with 14 percent for the farm families.

Although cash relief has been included, it actually constitutes a very small proportion of the total receipts. Only 8 farm families and 6

53/ Cash receipts as here used do not conform to the usual concept of income, inasmuch as borrowings and cash relief have been included. However, the composition of the tables enables a deduction of these items if desired.

54/ Other receipts comprise income from people not living in the family, net profits from other than farm business, from farms rented to others or real property, income from monetary legacies, gifts, interest on dividends, insurance, boarders, borrowings, relief, net income from personal property, and all other cash receipts.

Table 40.- Principal sources of cash receipts ^{1/} and principal items of disbursements, average amounts and percentage distribution, by tenure and residence, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	Open country				Town		
	Total	Owners	Renters	Croppers	Total	Owners	Renters
Average amounts:							
Total cash receipts ^{2/}	\$1,052	\$1,221	\$787	\$480	\$1,312	\$1,513	\$1,152
Sale of products	632	731	451	357	11	21	3
Wages	240	265	241	32	922	869	963
Other ^{3/}	150	189	73	35	330	524	176
Funds from reserve ^{4/}	30	38	17	6	49	99	10
Total disbursements ^{2/}	1,074	1,256	779	480	1,368	1,527	1,165
Family living	646	723	525	348	1,148	1,272	1,049
Farm operation	297	372	166	75	19	25	14
Investments	102	119	79	36	169	258	97
Funds into reserve ^{5/}	29	37	9	21	32	42	25
Percentages:							
Total cash receipts	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Sale of products	60	60	57	75	1	1	-
Wages	23	22	31	17	70	57	84
Other ^{3/}	14	15	10	7	25	35	15
Funds from reserve ^{4/}	3	3	2	1	4	7	1
Total disbursements	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Family living	60	58	68	73	84	80	89
Farm operation	28	30	21	16	2	1	1
Investments	9	9	10	7	12	16	8
Funds into reserve ^{5/}	3	3	1	4	2	3	2

^{1/} Cash receipts as here used do not conform to the usual concept of cash income inasmuch as borrowings and cash relief have been included.

^{2/} Cash receipts and funds from reserve should equal cash expenditures and funds into reserve. The small discrepancies are due to the errors of the family in making estimates. Discrepancies of more than 10 percent were either rechecked and corrected or the schedules unused.

^{3/} Income from boarders, relief, persons not members of the resident family, profit from non-farm operations, borrowings, and other cash receipts.

^{4/} "Funds from reserve" represents decreases in checking accounts and cash on hand at the end, as compared with the beginning, of the schedule year.

^{5/} "Funds into reserve" represents the amount by which checking accounts and cash on hand were increased at the end, as compared with the beginning, of the schedule year.

urban families in this study reported cash relief. ^{55/} Five percent of both rural and urban families reported work relief, but funds accruing from this source were classified as wages rather than as cash relief. Farm families who were recipients of cash relief showed an average of \$33 while the average for the town families was \$181.

There was relatively little difference between the owners and the renters in the proportion of cash receipts accruing from the sale of farm products; the former received 60 percent and the latter 57 percent from this source. The croppers, however, received three-fourths of all cash receipts from farm operation. In accordance with the terms of the tenure relationship the cropper must devote most of his time to farm operation, usually under direct supervision, in order to realize a return from his efforts; thus, only 17 percent (a much lower figure than that for the two remaining tenure groups) of the cash receipts of the croppers was classified as wages.

In the urban areas the families living in rented dwellings depended upon wages for a greater proportion of the cash receipts than did those who owned their homes. As indicated by the sources of cash receipts, the owners were more dependent upon the returns from personal business enterprises than the renters; also, the owners had greater returns from property or other investments.

As farm operation may be either intensive or extensive, depending upon the type of farming, the most efficient size of the unit obviously will vary. But for the families studied in Virginia there appeared to be a point in farm size at which farming, as such, seemed to be of major importance in the wealth-getting functions of the family (judging by the proportion of the cash receipts that resulted from the sale of farm products). Those who were classified as owners and lived on units of less than 20 acres were not so dependent upon farm operation (again judging by the criterion of the proportion of total cash receipts that accrued from the sale of farm products) as were those on larger acreages. Families with less than 20 acres might include a number of part-time operators since only those owners with 50 or more acres received 50 percent or more of the cash receipts from the sale of products. In the tenant group the division was somewhat lower since those with from 10 to 19 acres reported 50 percent of the total receipts as having accrued from the sale of farm products (Table 64).

When cash receipts were considered on the basis of the size of farm, the relationship was comparable to that existing between size of farm and total value of living. A graphic curve showing the total cash receipts by size of farm would slope downward from the families residing on less than

^{55/} The proportion of families on relief in the entire State during 1935 was much higher than indicated by this sample. For complete reports on relief in Virginia, see reports of the rural relief series prepared by the Works Progress Administration of Virginia.

3 acres to those operating less than 20 acres, after which point there would be a sharp increase in cash receipts as the size of the farm increased. This may substantiate the assumption made previously that the open-country people, admitting some exceptions, residing on the very small units were largely part-time farmers. On the basis of the proportion of the total cash receipts accruing from wages and other sources, it appeared that owners with less than 3 acres were somewhat more dependent upon farm operations than those who rented a farm of similar size. Moreover, about 6 percent of the owners and 13 percent of the renters reported no income from the sale of farm products. Above the point at which it might be assumed that full-time farming had begun, there was less dependence upon non-farm income as the size of the unit increased. In addition, after this point the tenants were more dependent upon farm operations than the owners, for on all farms above 10 acres the tenants secured a much greater proportion of available cash from the sale of products than did the owners.

For both the owners and the tenants cash receipts from such other sources as borrowings, boarders, and relief were not significant. Of course, not all families had receipts from these sources, but the relative independence may be indicated by an average of \$1 borrowed, the same amount realized from boarders, and nothing from relief (Table 63). 56/

Disbursements

Obviously, a relatively large proportion of the available cash receipts of the family would be devoted to maintaining or increasing the level of living. In respect to the distribution of the available cash among the items of expenditures, the contrast between the urban and the rural family was significant. While the wage-earning family in town can usually devote all receipts to family living, either for present or future consumption, the farm family must devote a sizeable proportion to the operation of the farm. Thus, about 96 percent of the cash receipts of the urban families was allocated to family living or some form of investment (Table 40). For the open-country families this proportion was only 69, inasmuch as 28 percent of the cash receipts was spent for farm operation from which about two-thirds of the cash receipts was secured.

Because of the economic difference a comparison between the rural and the urban family (assuming equal incomes) on the basis of the proportion of the total income allocated to family living might readily lead to the assumption that the urban family had attained a higher level of living than the farm family. Such a comparison must be avoided, however. Although the farmer must allocate a large proportion to farm operation, he has the advantage of being able to furnish a large proportion of the family-living goods, whereas the urbanite must depend primarily upon cash purchases.

56/ Some families received cash relief but the proportion and the amount were too small to be reflected in the average for all families.

The farm owners allocated 58 percent of the total receipts to family living, while the renters and the croppers devoted 68 and 73 percent respectively to the same purpose. When the proportions allocated to family living and to farm operation were combined, there was almost no difference between the totals for the three tenure groups because the owners logically allocated more to farm operation than did the non-owners. In the urban group the owners, with larger total receipts, allocated a slightly lower proportion to family living but more to investments than did the renters.

Savings and Investments

Perhaps because of the difficulties involved in defining the category and securing relevant data, savings and investments of the families are often given relatively little consideration in the analysis of the level of living. To determine accurately the amount of savings of the individual family would necessitate a detailed study of inventory and change in net worth from year to year which is often considered beyond the scope of the level-of-living study. Although savings and investments are not entirely indicative of how well the family may have actually lived, the tendency to set aside a portion of current income represents an effort to attain security and the possibility of a higher level of living. In almost all family groups some form of deferred spending prevails; even those families at the lower margin of existence as well as those on the higher planes of living make some effort to provide a cushion against future contingencies or emergencies. The saving behavior of various groups in attempting to assure some degree of economic stability assumes different aspects. For some, insurance takes priority over other forms. Others invest in stocks and bonds while some prefer investments in intangible assets. For all, reserves impart a feeling of security that is not measured entirely in terms of dollars and cents.

The Virginia town families with greater cash receipts invested 12 percent of the total cash receipts, or 3 percent more than did the farm families (Table 41). The town families reported an average investment of \$169, exclusive of funds placed in reserve or payments on mortgages and other indebtedness, as compared with \$102 for the farm family. In both residence groups savings accounts were the most important form of investment and even more important to the rural than to the urban family since about 57 percent of the farm investments and 43 percent of the urban investments were of this type. Next in importance in the various types of investments was insurance, an item which represented 23 and 30 percent of the total investments of the rural and the urban families respectively. Insurance in both residence areas ranged from burial insurance with its small weekly payments to the large life-insurance policies.

Urban families reported an average of \$45 for other investments as compared with \$20 for those of the rural areas. For the town families this represented over one-fourth of the total investments. Stocks and bonds, which are included in the category "Other," were more frequently

Table 41.- Average amounts of specified investments and percentage each was of total, by residence and tenure, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	Open country				Town		
	Total	Owners	Renters	Croppers	Total	Owners	Renters
Average amounts:							
Total investments	\$101.8	\$118.7	\$79.1	\$35.8	\$163.5	\$256.3	\$97.2
Other than							
farm	19.9	25.5	9.4	5.1	44.5	77.9	18.0
Savings	58.3	65.4	51.0	25.3	73.2	112.2	42.2
Insurance	23.6	27.8	18.7	5.4	50.8	68.2	37.0
Payments on mortgages <u>1/</u>	32.7	44.8	8.0	4.1	16.9	30.7	6.0
Funds into reserve <u>2/</u>	29.5	37.3	9.4	21.1	32.4	41.6	25.1
Percentages:							
Total investments	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Other than							
farm	19.6	21.5	11.9	14.2	26.4	30.2	18.5
Savings	57.2	55.1	64.5	70.7	43.4	43.4	43.4
Insurance	23.2	23.4	23.6	15.1	30.2	26.4	38.1

1/ Payments on mortgages and other debts were apportioned to family living and farm operation. (See appendix, Methodological Note.) As this amount has already been added either to family living or to farm operation, it cannot be added to investments.

2/ "Funds into reserve" is the amount by which checking accounts and cash on hand were increased at the end, as compared with the beginning, of the schedule year.

used as a means of investment by the town than by the rural family.

Although payments on mortgages and other indebtedness and funds in reserve have not been included in the category of savings as such, they do represent a tendency to provide a form of economic security. Mortgage payments indicated that many families were purchasing the farm or the home, seeking to attain the status and the stability that accrue from ownership. The farmers reported an average payment of \$33, or approximately twice as much as the town families. There was relatively little difference in the amounts placed in reserve by the two residence groups.

There were some rather significant differences in the saving habits of the various tenure groups. The tenants with relatively small investments relied primarily upon readily available cash in the form of savings accounts. The owners and the renters in the open country allo-

cated approximately one-fourth of the total investments to insurance, but the croppers allocated 15 percent to insurance and 71 percent to savings and showed a relatively large amount as funds placed in reserve. The farm owners invested a larger proportion in other forms of property than the tenants and were also making larger payments on other indebtedness as well as mortgages.

In the urban area each tenure group devoted about the same proportion to savings, but renters allocated a greater proportion to insurance and less to other investments than did owners.

Chapter IV

POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS AND MOBILITY

A study of the level of living of the families in terms of the economic value of goods and services consumed and the proportionate distribution of the total among the principal categories of family-living goods, with emphasis upon such factors as tenure, residence, size of family, and duration of marriage, leaves the analysis incomplete. Beyond the influences of these factors are family characteristics and traits that exert influence, either directly or indirectly, upon the living behavior of the family. It would be difficult to determine cause-and-effect relationships but such characteristics should be presented to show their relationship to, and possible influence upon, the level of living and the demand for family-living goods and the relative position of the various income groups.

Size of Family

That the farm family has a greater number of members than the urban family and the farm tenant a larger family than the owner is almost a platitude. Of course, consideration must be given to the fact that the tenant operators may be younger than the owners; moreover, they may be in that phase of the family life cycle which implies the presence of more children at home. Also, the necessity for a large working force on the farm becomes greater as the operator's position on the tenure scale is lowered. In Virginia the average farm family studied had 4.2 members as compared with 3.5 in the town family. Renter and cropper families were comparable in size, having 4.7 and 4.8 members respectively, while owner families had about one member less (Table 42). Surprisingly enough, owners and renters in the towns reported as great a difference in size of family as did owners and tenants in the rural group.

Table 42.- Average size of family, by residence, tenure, and county of survey, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Residence and tenure	Number of persons per family						
	6 selected counties						
	Total				Prince George	Rockbridge	
	1/	Culpeper	Halifax	Nansemond	Edward	bridge	Wythe
Open country	4.2	3.7	4.3	3.9	4.3	4.4	4.3
Owners	4.0	3.1	4.1	3.9	4.0	4.2	4.2
Renters	4.7	5.1	4.6	4.1	5.0	5.2	4.4
Croppers	4.8	5.4	4.1	3.7	5.0	4.6	5.1
Town	3.5	3.2	3.3	3.5	3.1	3.3	4.0
Owners	3.1	2.8	3.1	2.9	3.0	2.7	4.2
Renters	3.8	3.4	4.0	4.0	3.2	3.7	3.8

1/ Includes 158 families in other counties adjacent to those studied.

For those families with a total value of living of less than \$2,000 there was definite relationship between the value of living and the number of persons in the family; that is, as the value of living increased, the size of the family showed a similar tendency. But with the exception of farm renters the families with a total value of living of more than \$2,000 had fewer persons than those who reported \$1,000 to \$1,999. In each residence group those families theoretically on the lower rungs of the economic and social ladder had the larger families. Moreover, the relationship between the number of males of working age and the total value of family living was similar to that exhibited by the size of the family (Table 43).

Table 43.- Size of family, size of household, and males of working age per family, by residence, tenure, and value-of-living groups,
6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	:	:	Value-of-living groups			
			: Total	: Under	: \$500-:	: \$1,000- : \$2,000
			: \$500	: \$999	: \$1,999	: and over
Number of persons in family:						
Open country	4.2	2.8	3.9	4.7	4.4	
Owners	4.0	2.4	3.6	4.4	4.3	
Renters	4.7	3.0	4.3	5.3	5.4	
Croppers	4.8	3.2	4.5	6.7	-	
Town	3.5	2.7	3.4	3.8	3.4	
Owners	3.1	2.7	2.7	3.5	3.3	
Renters	3.8	2.8	3.6	4.0	3.7	
Number of persons in household:						
Open country	4.7	3.0	4.2	5.2	5.4	
Owners	4.5	2.7	4.0	4.8	5.3	
Renters	5.0	3.1	4.6	5.6	6.1	
Croppers	5.1	3.6	4.7	7.2	-	
Town	3.9	2.8	3.7	4.3	4.3	
Owners	3.7	2.7	3.1	4.0	4.3	
Renters	4.1	2.9	3.8	4.4	4.2	
Number of males of working age:						
Open country	1.3	0.8	1.1	1.4	1.6	
Owners	1.3	.7	1.1	1.4	1.6	
Renters	1.3	1.0	1.2	1.5	2.2	
Croppers	1.3	1.0	1.3	1.7	-	
Town	1.1	.5	1.0	1.2	1.3	
Owners	.9	.4	.7	1.0	1.2	
Renters	1.2	.8	1.0	1.3	1.3	

Type of Family

The families living in any given area represent many diverse types. As research has emphasized, the composition of a family has significant bearing upon its behavior, particularly in reference to the mode of living and the efforts to adjust its social and economic activities as changes within that family occur. 57/ Analysis of the almost rhythmic characteristics of the family life cycle has indicated the differences that may be expected from such types as those in which the parents are separated, those made up of adult members only, or those in which all the children are very young.

More than three-fourths of both open-country and town families were intact; that is, the husband and the wife were residing together (Table 44). The town families were somewhat younger than the farm group, as indicated by the fact that approximately 52 percent of the town families, as compared with 42 percent of the farm families, were intact and not complete. 58/

A slightly larger proportion of the farm than of the urban families were classified as complex, or those in which one or more of the children had brought his or her spouse or offspring to live in the parental home. Here, again, may be indication that the farm can often provide, with a minimum adjustment, a livelihood for more than just the members of the primary family.

Presumably some of those who had left the home farm for other employment had returned when industrial opportunities were curtailed. But in many instances one of the children had probably remained to assume control at the death of the parents. Particularly would this be true among farm-owner groups. In the open-country sample studied, a greater proportion of the owner than of the tenant families were classified as complex. The combined efforts of the complex family resulted in a higher value of living.

As compared with farm youth, the urban offspring may be less often dependent upon his parents. As a rule he must seek outside employment, not only because he wishes to form his own home, but also because it is seldom possible for his parents to provide work for him. Moreover, the adjustment the urban family would have to make in order to provide for an offspring and his or her family may be more difficult than that which the farm family must make. Only a small proportion of complex families was found in the urban group (Table 44). As in the open country, the owners were more able than the tenants to offer a certain amount of aid to their children until they could attain some degree of security and stability.

According to the theory of the functioning of the "agricultural ladder," the young farmer usually works as a tenant for some time before acquiring his own farm. Probably during this period of tenancy he is not only learning the aspects of successful farm management but also accumulating

57/ Loomis, Chas. P., Growth of Family in Relation to Its Activities, op. cit.; Anderson, L.A., Composition of Rural Households, op. cit.

58/ Families classified as intact and not complete are those in which the husband and the wife are residing together and the wife is under 45 years of age.

Table 44.- Distribution of families studied, by type of family, tenure, and residence, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Residence and type of family	Total		Owners		Tenants	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Open country	1,730	100.0	1,176	100.0	554	100.0
Intact - 1/						
Not complete	727	42.1	373	31.7	354	63.9
Complete	614	35.5	481	40.9	133	24.0
Complex - 2/						
Intact	111	6.4	79	6.7	32	5.8
Broken	33	1.9	29	2.5	4	.7
Broken - 3/	120	6.9	97	8.3	23	4.2
One-member	30	1.7	26	2.2	4	.7
No substitute						
male head	62	3.6	58	4.9	4	.7
Brothers and sisters						
living together	33	1.9	33	2.8	-	-
Town	761	100.0	337	100.0	424	100.0
Intact - 1/						
Not complete	395	51.9	101	29.9	294	69.3
Complete	184	24.2	111	32.9	73	17.2
Complex - 2/						
Intact	25	3.3	12	3.6	13	3.1
Broken	17	2.2	11	3.3	6	1.4
Broken 3/	51	6.7	33	9.8	18	4.3
One-member	35	4.6	31	9.2	4	.9
No substitute						
male head	47	6.2	33	9.8	14	3.3
Brothers and sisters						
living together	7	.9	5	1.5	2	.5

- 1/ Families classified as intact and not complete are those in which the husband and wife are residing together and the wife is under 45 years of age.
 2/ Complex families are those consisting of parents and children among whom one or more of the latter is married and has residing with him/her a spouse and/or children. Families in which the marriage union in the primary family is broken are classified as complex-broken.
 3/ Broken families are those in which the husband and wife are separated during the schedule year.

funds to buy a farm of his own. 59/ That most of the farm tenants in the sample groups were relatively young is indicated by the comparative absence

59/ Taylor, Carl C., Wheeler, Helen W., and Kirkpatrick, E. L., Disadvantaged Classes in American Agriculture, Social Research Report No. VIII, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., April 1938, p. 37.

of complex or broken families and the fact that 64 percent of the farm-tenant families (a proportion twice as large as for the owners) were classified as intact and not complete. Even in the towns a similar tendency was apparent; only 30 percent of the owners were classified as intact and incomplete families, as compared with 69 percent of the tenants. Thus, there is evidence that the young married couple in the urban center will reside in a rented home for a period just as the young farmer resides on a rented farm.

Supplementary Occupations of Farm Families

According to data pertaining to cash receipts, it was necessary for many of the rural families to seek non-agricultural employment in order to supplement farm incomes. While this applied to families on the lower level of commercial or even subsistence farming, it was especially true of those living on the poorer and smaller, or "submarginal," units which were represented in each of the counties studied.

The male heads of about one-fourth of all open-country families had some sort of supplementary employment during 1935. 60/ Approximately 23

Table 45.- Supplementary occupations of male heads of farm families, by tenure, 6 selected counties, Virginia, 1935

Supplementary occupations	Total		Owners		Tenants	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Total	1,711	100.0	1,159 <u>1/</u>	100.0	522 <u>2/</u>	100.0
Professionals	12	.7	10	.9	2	.4
Proprietors	67	3.9	52	4.5	15	2.7
Clerks	39	2.3	33	2.8	6	1.1
Laborers -						
Skilled	112	6.5	83	7.2	29	5.2
Semi-skilled	34	2.0	19	1.6	15	2.7
Unskilled	173	10.1	75	6.5	98	17.8
No supple- mentary	1,274	74.5	887	76.5	387	70.1

1/ No male heads for 17 families.

2/ No male heads for 2 families.

percent of the farm owners and 30 percent of the farm tenants were supplementing their incomes by non-farm employment (Table 45).

60/ Nineteen of the families had no male head.

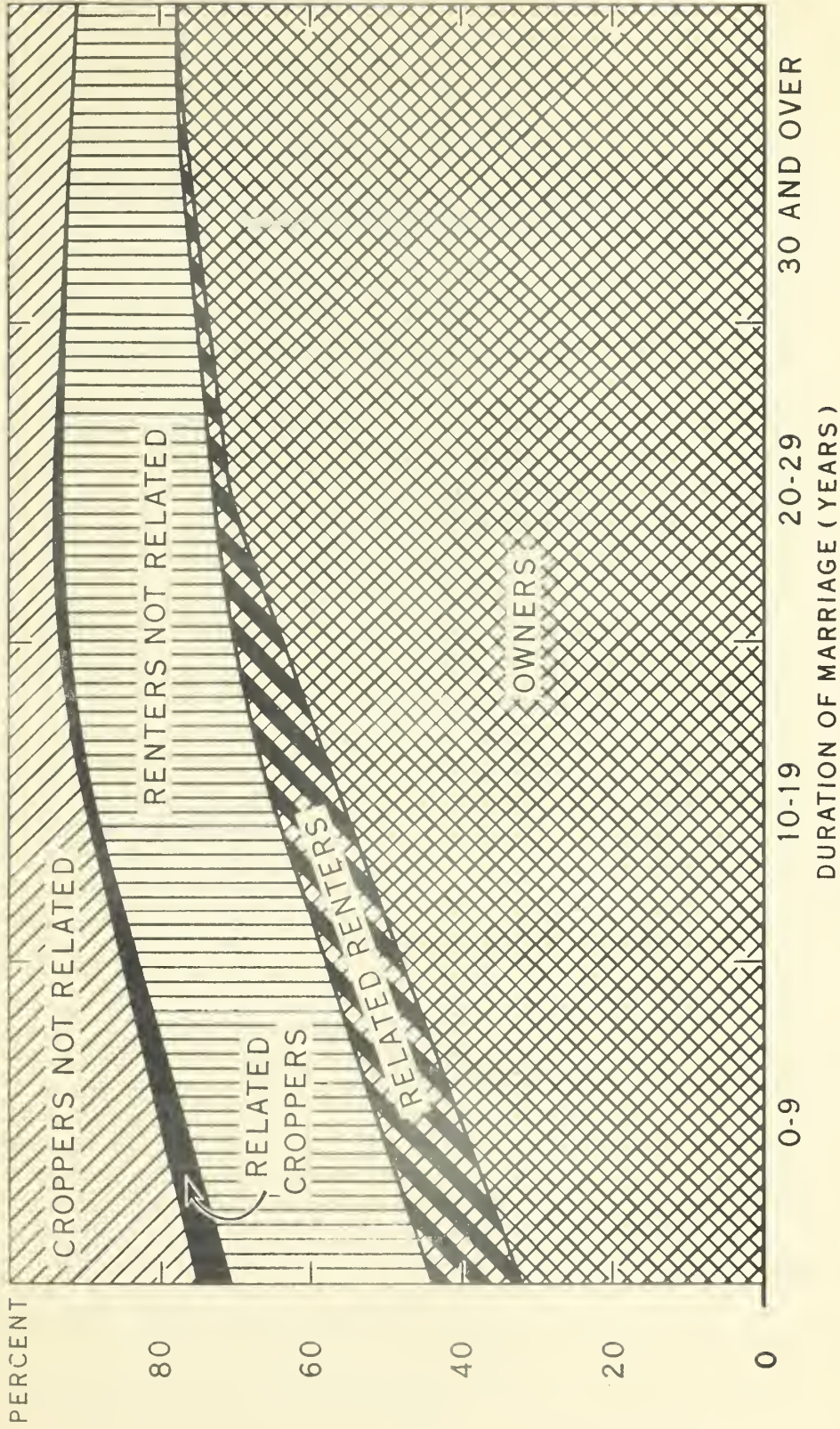
Such employment was largely in the form of day labor that usually required little skill. Seven percent of the owners and 5 percent of the tenants were engaged in skilled labor, the second most important form of off-the-farm employment for the male heads (Table 45). About 5 percent of the owners and 5 percent of the tenants were classified as proprietors, managers, or other officials of some enterprise other than farming - frequently a country store or a filling station. There were some families in both tenure groups that were included in the higher occupational or professional groups. Undoubtedly, in some of the latter cases the situation might be reversed and farming considered as the supplementary occupation. It is known that this is true of some families in Virginia.

Relation of Tenants To Landlords

Further evidence of the operation of the agricultural ladder is secured by analyzing the relationship between duration of the marriage union and tenure status of the intact families with children included in the survey. That the young farmer does serve a period as a tenant is indicated by the fact that 60 percent of the families married less than 10 years were classified as tenants, while only 24 percent of those married 30 years or longer did not own their own farms. The tendency for the proportion of tenancy to decline as the duration of the marriage union lengthened was very pronounced. Apparently, a relatively large proportion of the young farmers begin as croppers; then, as they accumulate experience and capital, they enter the renter class to replace renters who in turn have become owners.

Earlier in this report it has been pointed out that there is a more pronounced tendency for the children of the farm family to return to the parental home after marriage and that this may be due, to some extent, to the ability of the farm family to provide a livelihood for additional members with a minimum amount of adjustment. But often the farm owner has another way to offer assistance. He may allow the offspring and his or her family to farm as a renter or cropper on the home farm during the early years of marriage or until a more desirable location is found by either purchasing or renting another farm.

In the sample the number of tenants who were related to their landlords was largest - almost concentrated, in fact - in the young marriage groups and tended to decrease as the duration of the marriage union increased (Fig. 6). The tenant related to the owner of the farm is more likely to come within the renter classification than within the cropper category; however, there were cases which were classified as croppers. It is not improbable that many of the croppers were distantly related to the land owners while the blood ties of renters to the land owner were closer. No croppers married more than 20 years reported blood relationship with the owner, whereas related renters showed a marked decrease in number in the group married 20 to 29 years and were not represented at all in the group married 30 years or more.



U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

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FIGURE 6.- PERCENTAGE OF OPEN-COUNTRY-FARM FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN REPORTING SPECIFIED TENURE, AND PERCENTAGES OF TENANTS REPORTING BLOOD RELATIONSHIP TO LANDLORD BY DURATION OF MARRIAGE UNION, 6 VIRGINIA COUNTIES, 1935.

Mobility

One type of mobility that has been of particular interest to the student of social processes has been the migration between rural and urban areas. Mobility results from a complexity of causes, but it is occasioned most frequently by the attempt of the family to secure better economic and social advantages or to escape supposedly depressing conditions in the area in which it resides. 61/

When all the intact families with children - rural farm, rural non-farm, 62/ and town - were combined on the basis of duration of marriage, about 47 percent of these married less than 10 years were engaged in farming, 27 percent were residing in rural areas but were engaged in non-farm occupations, and 26 percent were residing in towns (Fig. 7). The non-farm group decreased sharply through the older marriage groups, a decrease that was more than absorbed by the farm group. Thus, three-fourths of those families married more than 30 years were farmers, 8 percent were classified as rural non-farm, and 17 percent were listed as town residents. How much migration occurred on a replacement basis is unknown, but of specific interest is the relatively large proportion of non-farm families married less than 10 years and the drastic reduction in the elder marriage groups. In addition, the decrease in the proportion of the town families in the older marriage groups must be noted. Thus, on the basis of the families studied in Virginia, there appeared a positive tendency for urban and non-farm families to shift to the farm as the age of the family increased.

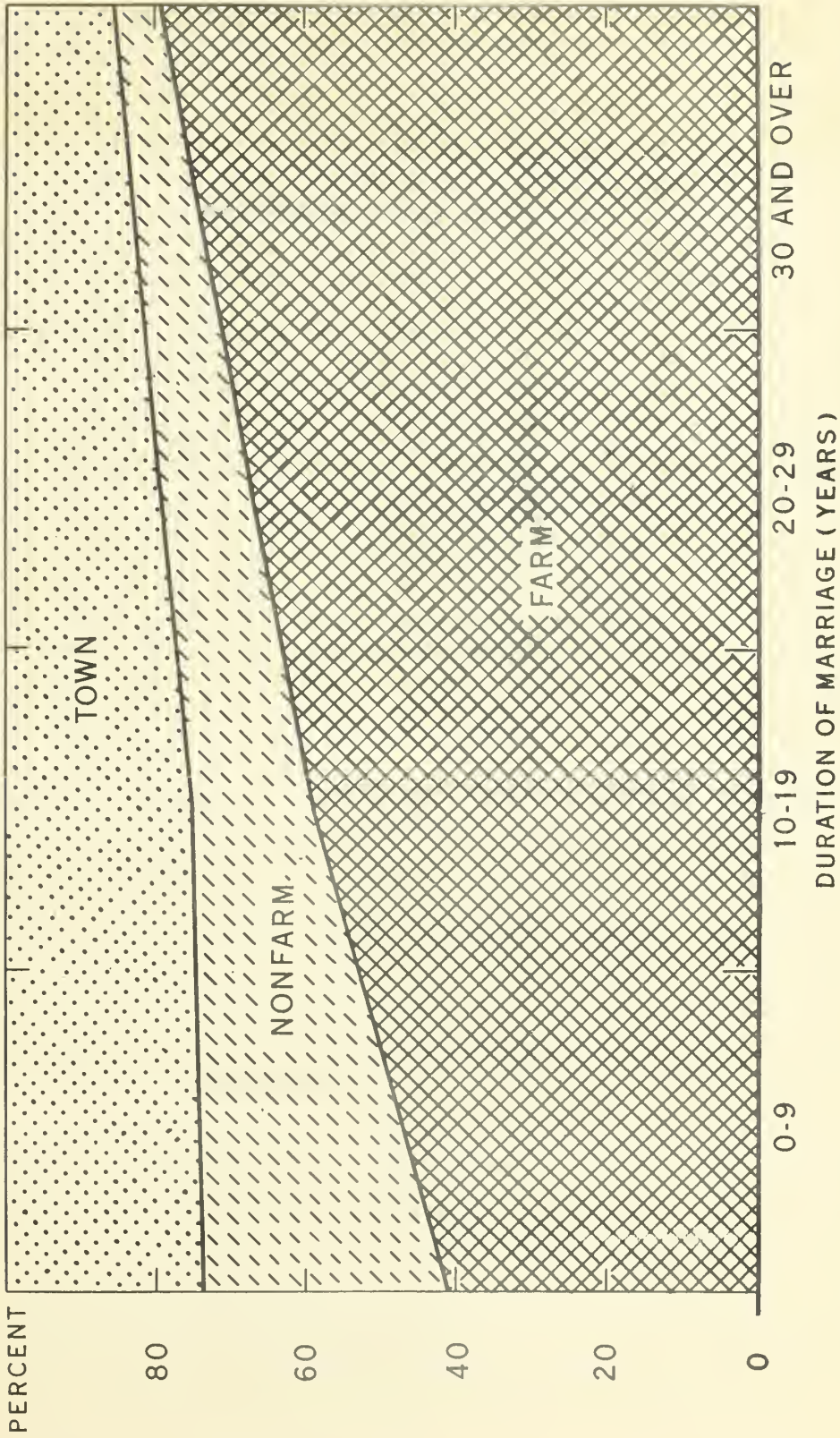
The movement of farm tenants from farm to farm is relatively large in certain sections of the Nation. Among the tenants and low-income classes such migration is great as the families search for more desirable locations and possible economic security. In some areas of the South a move every crop year in search of these better locations is not uncommon for many of the people. So great is the tendency to move that in the South high mobility and tenancy have become almost synonymous. Some aspects of the mobility of the tenants in the six counties studied in Virginia may be procured from an analysis of the length of tenure with the present landlord. 63/

Fifty-one percent of the croppers had been with their present landlords for only two years, and 29 percent for only one year (Table 46). The renters had moved less frequently than the croppers, inasmuch as 50 percent of the former would include those who had been with their present landlords from 3 to 5 years. Moreover, only 15 percent of the renters were spending their first year on the farm. Less than 15 percent of the croppers and 21 percent of the renters had been on the same farm for more than 10 years.

61/ Taylor, Carl C., Wheeler, Helen W., and Kirkpatrick, E. L., op. cit., p. 71.

62/ In addition to the rural farm families, 309 rural non-farm families were studied. It is proposed to present these data in future publications.

63/ At the time of the study.



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FIGURE 7.- PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN, BY TOWN, FARM, AND NON-FARM RESIDENCE AND DURATION OF MARRIAGE, 6 VIRGINIA COUNTIES, 1935.

Table 46.- Duration of tenure of 554 renters and croppers,
6 Virginia counties, 1935

Years with present landlord	Total		Renters		Croppers	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	554	100.0	385	100.0	169	100.0
Under 2	108	19.5	59	15.3	49	29.0
2.0 - 2.9	106	19.1	69	17.9	37	21.9
3.0 - 4.9	100	18.1	71	18.4	29	17.2
5.0 - 9.9	134	24.2	105	27.3	29	17.2
10.0 - 14.9	52	9.4	38	9.9	14	8.3
15.0 - 19.9	35	6.3	27	7.0	8	4.7
20 and over	19	3.4	16	4.2	3	1.7

Such variation in the length of tenure on the present farm is more or less to be expected. The cropper furnishes only his labor, receives his pay in kind, and seldom develops any ties to the particular area. To move to a possibly more desirable location in the ceaseless search for opportunity is no great inconvenience or special event. The renter, who occupies a rung on the "agricultural ladder" nearer ownership, has acquired equipment and livestock and does not possess quite the extremely mobile characteristics of the cropper.

Mobility of Offspring

The lure of independence, the quest for economic security, or a different way of life encourages the children to move from the parental home. Analysis of the life cycle of the family revealed that the largest families were those formed from 20 to 29 years and that the families in the last phase of the cycle were diminishing in size. It was in this last stage that the older children were leaving the parental home. Some stay in the parental home to take over the farm or business at the death of the parents; some remain in the immediate area to replace vacancies in the local population caused by death or migration; and for others the lure of the proverbial pot of gold elsewhere is too great.

Farm and town families reported an identical proportion (34 percent) of the male children as not residing in the parental home at the time of the study. A greater proportion of the daughters than of the sons, and about 3 percent more of the farm than of the town girls, had left home. The male children in both groups left home when they were slightly over 21 years of age, or about 1 year later than the age at which the farm girls left home and 2 years later than that reported by the town girls (Table 47).

Inasmuch as the average age at which the daughters were married was

Table 47.- Average age of offspring at time of leaving home and at time of marriage, and highest grade completed, by sex and by residence of parents, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	Averages			
	Open country		Town	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Age at time of leaving home	21.3	20.3	21.2	19.4
Age at time of marriage	23.2	21.0	22.6	19.8
Highest grade completed	7.7	8.8	8.6	9.5

slightly higher than the age at which they left home, it may be assumed that marriage was the primary concomitant or reason for leaving. The male children of the farm group waited about 2 years after leaving the parental home before getting married, presumably seeking some form of economic assurance before accepting the responsibility for a family. The male children in towns, on the other hand, were married at a somewhat earlier age than the farm boys. A greater proportion of the rural than of the urban children were married, but the data in this study contradict rather than support the popular contention that farm youth get married at an earlier age.

Approximately two-thirds of all children included in the survey were living with their parents. Studies in the migration of youth show that a greater proportion of the children of tenants than of owners leave the parental home and that the former leave at an earlier age. This study found that among both the urban and the rural families a greater proportion of the tenant children of all ages were yet in the parental home. But when the age factor was introduced the data conformed more nearly with other studies. That is, of the children over 21 years of age, 59 percent of tenant parentage as compared with 36 percent of owner parentage were not in the parental home. This appears to be further indication that the tenant operators were younger than the owner operators and that consequently a large proportion of the offspring of the former had not reached the age at which they would leave home.

When the children leave the parental home, where do they go? Do the farm children as a result of their heritage remain on farms or do they migrate to cities in search of the possibility of more lucrative industrial employment? Are attractions for the urban children greater in distant regions?

Approximately 50 percent of the farm and 38 percent of the urban children lived in the counties surveyed - in other words, those in which their parents lived (Table 48). About the same proportion of both groups went into other counties of Virginia but over one-fourth of the town children,

Table 48.- Percentages of offspring reporting specified places and types of residence, by residence and tenure of parents, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	Open country			Town		
	Total	Owners	Tenants	Total	Owners	Tenants
Number of offspring	6,497	4,468	2,029	1,894	861	1,033
Percentage in parental home	64.7	59.6	75.9	66.0	52.8	77.0
Percentage away from home	35.3	40.4	24.1	34.0	47.2	23.0
Percentages reporting -						
Place of residence:						
County of survey	49.8	47.9	56.9	37.9	36.9	39.5
Adjoining county	12.6	12.2	13.9	15.1	12.8	18.9
Other county	17.7	18.3	15.5	17.1	18.5	14.7
Other State	17.2	18.9	11.3	26.3	27.4	24.8
Foreign	.1	.1	-	.6	1.0	-
Unknown	2.6	2.6	2.4	3.0	3.4	2.1
Type of residence:						
Open country	38.6	35.7	49.4	13.6	13.0	14.7
Village	13.5	14.4	10.4	20.5	22.2	17.7
Town	11.4	11.5	10.8	16.6	13.8	21.4
City 1/	4.9	5.1	3.9	6.4	7.4	4.6
City 2/	12.0	12.2	11.4	16.0	14.3	18.9
City 3/	13.1	14.3	8.6	22.4	24.4	18.9
Other	3.3	3.2	3.5	2.8	2.2	3.8
Unknown	3.2	3.6	2.0	1.7	2.7	-
1/	Population 5,000 - 9,999.					
2/	Population 10,000 - 99,999.					
3/	Population 100,000 or more.					

as compared with 17 percent of the farm children, had gone out of the State. Perhaps as a result of background and training, 39 percent of the farm children established residence in the open country and only about 14 percent of the urban children moved into the rural areas after leaving the parental home. Such migration resulted in a net gain for the urban areas and further showed that less than one-half of the farm children desired or had the opportunity to stay on the farm. Whether those offspring who did migrate to the city were from the low-income groups is unknown but obviously such may have been a predominant consideration as they sought to better their way of life. As the farm children moved from the open country into the urban areas, the town children tended to take up residence in towns or cities larger than those in which the parents were living. As measured

by the proportion of children away from home who were residing in urban areas, both rural and urban offspring preferred the small town or the large city to the city with a population of 5,000 to 10,000.

Occupations of Youth

That the male children of rural parentage who remained in rural areas after leaving the parental home did not immediately begin farming may be further indicated by the occupations of those 21 years of age and over. Approximately 39 percent of the male offspring away from the parental home were reported as residing in open-country areas, yet only 20 percent of those 21 years of age or more were operating a farm (Table 49). Only 17 percent of the offspring of farm owners were reported as farming, as compared with 33 percent of the sons of tenant families. About 9 percent of the children of owners were farm owners or managers and 8 percent were tenants, but 27 percent of the children of tenants had likewise become tenants. The fact that a larger proportion of the rural sons over 21 were classified as unskilled laborers than were found in any other occupational classification indicates that possibly many of the children living in the open country were farm laborers for some time after leaving the parental home and, for various reasons or causes, did not begin farming independently.

The influence of somewhat higher formal educational status of the children of farm owners may be reflected in a comparison of the types of work those 21 years of age and over secured after leaving home as compared with those secured by the children of tenants. Approximately 40 percent of the sons of farm owners were skilled workers, clerks, proprietors, or professional persons, while 13 percent of the sons of tenants were in these higher occupational groupings. Only 20 percent of the female offspring of farm owners and 14 percent of those of farm tenants who were over 21 years of age and not residing in the parental home were reported as having an occupation. 64/

Generally the occupational status of the urban children over 21 years of age was higher than that reported for the farm children after leaving home. With the exception of those operating farms, 65 percent of the urban male children 21 years of age or more and not in the family home were above the unskilled and the semi-skilled classes. An additional point of contrast between the rural and the urban children may be noted in the proportion of the urban daughters, both at home and away, who were employed. This was a much larger proportion than was reported for the farm girls. Thus, the daughters of town families were either delaying marriage or were engaging in some form of employment to supplement the incomes of their husbands.

The data also showed a high proportion of the farm sons over 21 years of age in the parental home as not gainfully employed. Fifty-seven percent of these farm sons in the home, as compared with 24 percent of the urban males, were not gainfully employed. However, a majority of the farm sons

64/ Housewives were listed as not gainfully employed.

Table 49. Offspring 21 years of age and over, residing/not residing in parental home, by occupational group and by tenure of parent, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	: Age 21 and over, residing in parental home : Age 21 and over, not residing in parental home									
	: Daughters of -		: Sons of -		: Daughters of -		: Sons of -		: Sons of -	
	Total	Owners	Tenants	Total	Owners	Tenants	Total	Owners	Tenants	Total
Open country:										
Number of cases	343	291	52	477	387	90	282	182	100	201
Percentage of total	25.7	26.2	23.0	32.6	31.6	37.5	72.5	73.7	70.4	76.1
Percentages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Professional	8.5	8.9	5.8	1.0	1.3	-	5.0	5.9	1.1	3.7
Proprietors, managers, and officials	.6	.7	-	3.1	3.9	-	.5	.6	-	8.0
Farm owners and managers	.6	.7	-	2.1	2.6	-	.4	.5	-	8.9
Farm tenants	.3	-	1.9	1.3	1.0	2.2	.1	.1	-	8.5
Clerks and kindred workers	7.6	7.6	7.7	4.4	4.1	5.6	5.3	6.2	1.1	13.5
Skilled workers	-	-	-	4.2	4.7	2.2	.5	.5	.6	15.0
Semi-skilled workers	6.7	6.9	5.8	8.2	8.8	5.6	4.0	3.2	8.0	13.5
Unskilled workers	3.2	3.4	1.9	19.1	17.6	25.6	2.3	2.2	2.9	20.8
Not gainfully employed	72.5	71.8	76.9	56.6	56.0	58.8	81.4	80.3	85.7	4.5
Status unknown	-	-	-	-	-	-	.5	.5	.6	3.6
										5.3
										6.0
										18.0
										31.4
										3.3
										1.3
Town:										
Number of cases	107	65	42	105	63	42	993	819	174	836
Percentage of total	27.5	26.3	29.6	25.6	23.9	28.8	74.3	73.8	77.0	68.4
Percentages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Professional	14.0	13.8	14.3	2.9	4.8	-	8.9	6.6	13.0	7.0
Proprietors, managers, and officials	.9	-	2.4	12.4	15.9	7.1	1.1	1.6	-	9.9
Farm owners and managers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.5
Farm tenants	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.5
Clerks and kindred workers	30.0	30.8	28.5	17.1	22.2	9.5	10.3	12.1	7.0	21.4
Skilled workers	2.8	1.5	4.8	14.3	11.1	19.1	-	-	-	26.9
Semi-skilled workers	11.2	9.2	14.3	18.1	15.9	21.5	4.6	4.4	5.0	15.7
Unskilled workers	2.8	3.1	2.4	11.4	7.9	16.6	2.8	2.2	4.0	11.4
Not gainfully employed	38.3	41.6	33.3	23.8	22.2	26.2	72.3	73.1	71.0	4.5
Status unknown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.6
										1.5
										21.2
										11.5
										18.3
										23.1
										2.9
										1.9

classified as not gainfully employed were actually at work on the home farm. The urban offspring would seek outside employment more frequently than the rural children because the latter are an integral part of the farm unit and their labor is essential to the success of the home enterprise.

Formal Education

As measured by total value of living and other related factors there were significant differences in the status of the various groups of families. Similarly, there were some significant differences in the educational attainments of the members of those groups. Urban areas have for a longer period possessed better developed and more accessible educational facilities. In this study the urban parents reported more formal schooling than those of the rural group and the urban children were more advanced than the rural. The male heads in the towns had completed 7.4 grades, or about 1.2 grades more than the rural male heads; the urban wife had completed 8.7 school grades as compared with 7.4 for the homemaker in the rural area (Table 50).

Table 50.- Highest grade completed by male head and homemaker, by tenure, residence, and total value of family living, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	:	Total	Value-of-living groups				
			:	Under : \$500 -			
				: \$1,000 : \$2,000			
	:		:	\$500	\$999	\$1,999	and over
Highest grade completed by -							
Head of household:							
Open country		6.2		4.1	5.4	6.6	8.6
Owner		6.4		3.9	5.4	6.7	8.6
Renter		6.2		5.0	5.7	6.6	8.2
Cropper		4.7		3.3	4.8	5.3	-
Town		7.4		3.5	6.3	7.8	10.8
Owner		6.9		2.9	5.0	7.1	10.5
Renter		7.7		4.4	6.7	8.2	11.5
Homemaker:							
Open country		7.4		4.8	6.7	7.8	9.8
Owner		7.7		4.4	6.8	8.0	9.9
Renter		7.1		5.3	6.9	7.4	8.7
Cropper		5.7		5.2	5.6	6.2	-
Town		8.7		6.1	7.3	9.4	11.4
Owner		9.0		5.8	7.3	9.6	11.3
Renter		8.5		6.6	7.0	9.3	11.6

Operators who owned their farms reported more school grades completed than the tenants, but there was comparatively little difference in the educational attainments of the farm owners and the farm renters. The most noticeable

difference was in the average number of grades completed by the renters (6.2) and the croppers (4.7). In contrast to the pattern in the rural group the male heads who were living in rented dwellings in towns reported a greater number of grades completed than did the owners. In all residence and tenure groups the homemakers had completed more school grades than the husbands.

It would be difficult to say unequivocally whether higher educational attainments lead to the desire for a higher level of living and the subsequent effort necessary to attain that level or whether the higher level of living facilitates the attainment of higher educational status. Regardless of which may be causative, there was a positive correlation between the number of school grades completed and the total value of family living. As measured by the total value of living there appeared to be no great superiority of the farm owners over tenants whose total value of family living was less than \$500 - an observation that may also apply on the basis of the formal educational attainments of the male heads and the homemakers. Actually the male heads classified as farm renters in all value groups under \$2,000 had had more formal schooling than the farm owners in corresponding value groups. (A partial explanation may be that the tenant operators are usually of the younger generation that has tended to remain in school longer.) In all value groups the male head of the town-renter group had completed at least one grade more than the owner. The urban families in the lowest total-value group reported educational attainments for the male heads which were lower than those of the farm group. In all value groups the wives reported more formal education than the husbands.

Generally, parents hope to give their children as much formal schooling as possible, yet the education of the child is often dependent not only upon the attitude of the parents but also upon the availability of facilities and the financial status of the family. Despite the compulsory school-attendance laws in Virginia for children of certain ages, there are numerous cases, particularly in low-income groups and in rural areas, of non-attendance within these age limits. These may be owing to one or more of the conditions suggested. The urban child may leave school, voluntarily or because of parental influence, to aid in the procurement of the family income. As the farm child is an essential part of the working force of the farm, his attendance is likely to be even more irregular than that of the urban child. In either residence group it is frequently difficult to keep the children in school when the prospects of immediate employment are good.

Retardation was more prevalent among the children of the farm families than among those in the urban centers, and particularly for those 12 years of age or over. Furthermore, relatively few of the farm children were in a grade that might be considered advanced for their ages (Table 51). The proportion of the male offspring who were considered retarded was much greater than the proportion of girls. This was no doubt a result of the somewhat irregular attendance on the part of boys who had reached the age at which they might provide material assistance to the family. The girls,

Table 51.- Children attending school, by age, sex, position in school, and residence of parents, 6 Virginia counties, 1935 1/

Age in years	:	Male			:	Female		
		:Num-:	Percentages			:Num-:	Percentages	
		ber	:Retarded:	Normal:Advanced:		ber	:Retarded:	Normal:Advanced:

Open country:

Total	905				408			
6-9	201	-	100	-	91	-	100	-
10	87	32	64	4	31	39	52	9
11	99	45	52	3	38	26	61	13
12	90	54	43	3	36	50	36	14
13	79	53	41	6	41	44	41	15
14	95	54	38	8	52	40	52	8
15	83	73	24	3	39	36	62	2
16-17 <u>2/</u>	100	-	-	-	49	-	-	-
18-19 <u>2/</u>	45	-	-	-	22	-	-	-
20 or over <u>2/</u>	26	-	-	-	9	-	-	-

Town:

Total	341				297			
6-9	87	-	100	-	76	-	100	-
10	30	30	60	10	27	18	67	15
11	27	48	41	11	29	31	62	7
12	38	29	68	3	28	39	54	7
13	27	48	33	19	28	39	57	4
14	32	53	22	25	18	22	67	11
15	29	69	31	-	30	43	50	7
16-17 <u>2/</u>	33	-	-	-	36	-	-	-
18-19 <u>2/</u>	24	-	-	-	21	-	-	-
20 or over <u>2/</u>	14				4			

1/ Normal grade for child 10 years old would be either 3 or 4; 11 years old would be 4 or 5, etc. Allowance was thus made for variations in birth-days. All children 6 to 9 years of age were arbitrarily considered to be in normal grade, because tabulation did not include single-year breakdowns.

2/ Analysis of position in school not available.

on the other hand, attend school more regularly. That they also complete more grades before they finally stop is evidenced by the greater number of grades completed by the homemakers in this study. Among urban youth, with more accessible and perhaps superior school facilities as well as less demand for their aid in procuring family income, retardation was less common. In both residence groups the children of tenant families were more retarded than those of owners (Table 52).

Table 52.- Children attending school, by age, position in school, and tenure and residence of parents, 6 Virginia counties, 1935. 1/

Age in years	Children of owners				Children of tenants			
	Num-		Percentages		Num-		Percentages	
	ber	:Retarded	:Normal	:Advanced	ber	:Retarded	:Normal	:Advanced

Open country:

Total	917				396			
6-9	192	-	100	-	100	-	100	-
10	68	29	66	4	50	40	54	6
11	92	36	60	4	45	49	42	9
12	88	47	46	7	37	65	30	5
13	89	45	44	11	31	64	32	3
14	107	44	46	10	40	62	35	2
15	77	58	38	4	45	67	33	-
16-17 <u>2/</u>	117				32			
18-19 <u>2/</u>	53				14			
20 or over <u>2/</u>	33				2			

Town:

Total	225				413			
6-9	48	-	100	-	115	-	100	-
10	16	-	88	12	41	34	54	12
11	18	6	67	28	38	55	45	-
12	17	35	53	12	49	33	65	2
13	25	36	44	20	30	50	47	3
14	15	60	27	13	35	34	43	23
15	25	48	48	4	34	62	35	3
16-17 <u>2/</u>	28				41			
18-19 <u>2/</u>	22				23			
20 or over <u>2/</u>	11				7			

1/ Normal grade for child 10 years old would be either 3 or 4; 11 years old would be 4 or 5, etc. Allowance was thus made for variations in birth-days. All children 6 to 9 years of age were arbitrarily considered to be in normal grade, because tabulation did not include single year breakdowns.
2/ Analysis of position in school not available.

As shown by the amount of formal education of offspring over 6 years of age but not in school in 1935, it was apparent that the younger children completed more grades before they finally stopped school than those who left school about the turn of the century. Again, the offspring of the owners tended to reach a higher grade in school than the children of tenant parent-age.

Table 53.- Percentages of offspring over 6 but not in school who completed specified amounts of formal schooling, by age groups and by tenure and residence of parents, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	Children of owners			Children of tenants		
	Age in years			Age in years		
	Total:	Under 35:	35 or over:	Total:	Under 35:	35 or over:
Open country:						
Number of cases	2,649	1,910	759	679	617	62
Grade school:						
Percentages -						
Attended	99	99	99	95	95	98
Graduated	79	79	76	55	56	44
High school:						
Percentages -						
Attended	54	55	53	32	32	29
Graduated	32	32	30	13	13	11
College:						
Percentages						
Attended	16	15	21	2	2	8
Graduated	6	5	5	1	<u>1</u>	2
Town:						
Number of cases	534	334	200	382	332	50
Grade school:						
Percentages -						
Attended	99	99	99	99	99	100
Graduated	85	87	82	73	73	70
High school:						
Percentages -						
Attended	70	76	62	56	57	50
Graduated	48	55	35	29	28	30
College:						
Percentages -						
Attended	29	31	26	13	13	10
Graduated	11	13	8	5	5	2

1/ Less than 0.5 of 1 percent.

Of all the farm offspring over 6 years of age but not in school in 1935, 79 percent of the owners' and 55 percent of the tenants' children who had attended grade school had completed the course, while 32 percent of the former and 13 percent of the latter had completed high school (Table 53). The influence of better educational facilities and the differences in the economic enterprises of the rural and the urban families are emphasized by the fact that among the children of town owners 85 percent had finished grade school and 48 percent had graduated from high school. Within the urban group there was another contrast, inasmuch as only 29 percent of the children of renters had completed high school. More of the owners than of

Table 54.- Percentages of offspring over 6 but not in school who completed specified amounts of formal schooling, by age, sex, and residence, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	Age in years			
	Males		Females	
	Under 35	35 or over	Under 35	35 or over
Open country:				
Number of cases	1,316	412	1,211	389
Grade school:				
Percentages -				
Attended	98	98	98	100
Graduated	69	70	79	78
High school:				
Percentages -				
Attended	42	47	58	56
Graduated	20	25	35	32
College:				
Percentages -				
Attended	7	17	16	22
Graduated	3	7	4	8
Town:				
Number of cases	330	126	336	124
Grade school:				
Percentages -				
Attended	99	98	99	100
Graduated	75	73	86	85
High school:				
Percentages -				
Attended	58	56	74	62
Graduated	35	33	48	35
College:				
Percentages -				
Attended	19	20	25	26
Graduated	7	6	11	7

the tenants in both urban and rural areas were able to send their children to college for advanced training. Those who went to college comprised a larger proportion of urban than of rural youth.

When the children over six years of age and out of school were divided into groups of those between 6 and 35 those 35 or over in 1935, the progress in educational facilities was somewhat emphasized inasmuch as the tendency was evident for those of the younger group to remain in school longer than those of the older age group. Only one significant exception was noted and that in the proportion of the open-country children who had attended and graduated from college. A greater proportion of those over 35 years of age than of those in the younger age group had graduated from college.

Chapter V

READING AND LEISURE ACTIVITIES

Recreation and diversion are not confined to the participation of the family in organized activities. Informal associations and activities are an essential part of the life of all members of the family. It is sometimes suggested that if distribution problems could be solved, the average workday would be reduced to a fraction of its present length and many hours would be freed for leisure use. Moreover, there is an argument that if rural people could be induced to engage in constructive leisure-time pursuits, additional progress in the solution of farm problems might be made. Aside from this consideration is the fact that the level of living of people on farms as well as in cities is reflected as much in the manner in which they spend their time as in the goods and services for which their money is spent. But even now the adaptation of leisure time in such a way as to enhance general welfare is baffling. Generally, when farm people are asked how much leisure time they have, the characteristic reply is "None." However, farm people do engage in activities that represent use of leisure time.

Use of Leisure Time Outside of Organizations

In 26 different ways of using leisure time, ^{65/} ranging from "napping" to "playing instruments" or "going to town," homemakers of farm families used an average of 3.4 hours per day as compared with 4.6 hours used by the town homemakers.

The head of the household in both rural and urban areas reported less leisure time than the homemakers. The male head in the rural group reported an average of 2.6 hours per day and those in the urban group reported 3 hours. Even the children in the urban group had more time of their own than those on the farm who were more often required to help with the farm work.

With the exception of those in Halifax County there was little variation in the average amount of leisure time of the male heads in the various counties (Table 55). For the homemakers, however, there were greater differences between the counties in the amount of leisure time.

There was no obvious relationship between the value of family living and the average number of leisure hours of families in the various counties. However, Halifax County, with an average value of family living that was comparatively low, reported more leisure hours.

^{65/} On the schedules data concerning the hours per week expended by each member of the family were obtained (Schedule IX).

Table 55.- Average leisure hours per week reported by family members, by residence and tenure, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Residence and tenure of members	Hours per week						
	Total	Culpeper	Halifax	Nansemond	Edward	Rock- bridge	Wythe
Open country:							
Male head	18.3	16.6	22.3	18.7	15.1	17.3	18.1
Homemaker	23.8	27.3	30.2	20.5	20.6	21.4	23.1
Offspring	22.2	25.0	25.9	21.5	15.9	21.3	34.5
Owners:							
Male head	19.1	18.1	23.4	17.6	17.7	17.3	19.7
Homemaker	25.0	28.0	30.5	20.5	24.5	21.0	25.2
Offspring	23.2	25.7	23.4	23.6	16.9	21.7	24.6
Tenants:							
Male head	16.3	12.7	20.9	20.5	10.7	17.1	12.5
Homemaker	21.6	25.0	29.8	20.4	14.3	22.3	15.0
Offspring	19.7	23.5	25.2	16.6	13.5	20.4	23.4
Town:							
Male head	21.0	23.9	23.4	16.0	17.3	15.0	16.9
Homemaker	32.4	44.3	42.2	24.2	26.9	17.3	33.7
Offspring	27.0	42.3	28.4	20.2	24.7	17.8	32.5

Reading

Although reading is not leisure activity for all people, most of the reading that farm parents do may be classified as such. As in the case of all leisure time, members of town families spent more time reading than did members of farm families (Table 56). Furthermore, farm-owner families spent more time reading than did farm tenants. As recreational reading is usually considered as one of the important elements in the non-material aspects of the level of living, these differences are significant. They may be explained by several considerations. For example, the formal educational attainments of individuals are positively correlated with the time rural people spend reading.^{66/} Since the number of school grades completed by the male heads and the homemakers in the town families was

^{66/} Loomis, C. P., Educational Status and Its Relationship to Reading and Other Activities, Social Forces, Vol. 18, No. 1, October 1939. In this study, 311 white farm-owner-family husbands and wives and 256 farm-tenant-family husbands and wives were found to have read an average of 3.8, 3.1, 2.6, and 2.2 hours per week respectively. Correlation coefficients between school grades completed and total hours spent reading per week for these same groups were respectively: .35 \pm .03, .35 \pm .03, .31 \pm .04, and .56 \pm .03.

Table 56.- Average hours per week family members spent in reading, by residence and tenure, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Residence and tenure of members	Hours per week						
	Total	Culpeper	Halifax	Mansemond	Edward	Rock- bridge	Wythe
Open country:							
Male head	3.9	4.3	4.7	3.2	4.0	3.4	3.5
Homemaker	4.2	5.2	5.1	3.8	3.8	3.2	3.8
Offspring	4.7	5.6	5.4	5.2	4.7	5.5	5.7
Owners:							
Male head	4.3	5.2	5.1	3.6	5.0	3.5	3.7
Homemaker	4.6	5.6	5.5	4.0	4.7	3.4	4.0
Offspring	5.2	5.9	5.7	5.7	5.6	6.1	5.8
Tenants:							
Male head	2.9	2.0	4.1	2.6	2.3	5.2	2.8
Homemaker	3.4	4.2	4.4	3.5	2.3	2.9	3.0
Offspring	3.8	4.9	4.9	4.5	3.3	4.1	5.5
Town:							
Male head	5.6	9.5	5.6	3.8	6.2	6.0	5.2
Homemaker	5.8	9.5	5.3	4.2	6.4	5.3	5.9
Offspring	5.5	9.3	5.2	3.7	7.5	6.6	8.2

greater than those completed by male heads and homemakers of farm families (Table 50, p. 97), the time which the former devoted to reading should be greatest. Also, the fact that the educational status of owners exceeded that of tenants may in part explain why owners read more extensively than tenants. Moreover, the superior educational attainments of homemakers as compared with male heads may explain why the former read more than the latter.

The educational status of farm heads of households (6.2 grades) is, however, scarcely enough lower than that of the town male heads (7.4 grades) to account for the fact that the latter spend almost 2 hours more per week reading (Table 56). As is well known, the farmer works hard, rises early, and retires relatively early. Often he is too tired to read in the evening. Furthermore, he is handicapped not only by lack of leisure time and easy access to literature but also by poor lighting and heating facilities in his home.

Differences were also prevalent between the rural and the urban families and between the owners and the tenants in the proportion of the families reporting subscriptions to current reading matter. Slightly over one-third of the farm families reported no subscription to any type of news-

paper whereas only 24 percent of the urban families did not subscribe to a newspaper (Table 57). The contrast between the farm owners and the tenants was sharp; only 26 percent of the former did not subscribe to a newspaper while almost one-half of the tenants were not subscribing to any type of newspaper. In the urban group the difference was not so great. For all groups the daily newspaper was more important than the weekly or other types, as evidenced by the proportion of families who reported subscriptions to various types of newspapers. A relatively large proportion of the Virginia farm families continued to subscribe to the weekly newspaper even though rapid delivery of the daily has to some degree supplanted the former in importance.

Table 57.- Percentages of families reporting subscriptions to periodical literature, by residence and tenure, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Type of subscription	Farm families 1/			Town families 2/		
	Total	Owners	Tenants	Total	Owners	Renters
Newspapers:						
None	33.6	26.5	48.7	24.0	20.8	26.7
1 - 2 weekly	21.1	22.9	17.2	5.8	5.9	5.7
1 - 2 daily	23.8	24.6	22.0	43.0	38.0	46.9
1 - 2 other	.1	.1	-	-	-	-
Combination of						
2 or 3 3/	19.9	24.5	10.3	23.5	29.7	18.6
Not reported	1.5	1.4	1.8	3.7	5.6	2.1
Magazines:						
None	48.2	41.8	61.9	57.3	50.4	62.7
1 - 2 farm	13.7	14.3	12.6	2.4	2.7	2.1
1 - 2 domestic 4/	4.9	4.4	5.9	6.3	6.2	6.4
Weekly	.8	.6	1.3	1.6	.9	2.1
Religious	1.8	2.3	.5	1.8	2.7	1.2
Combination of						
2, 3, 4, or 5 3/30.6	30.6	36.6	17.8	30.6	37.1	25.5

1/ Based on 1,730 families: 1,176 owners and 554 tenants.

2/ Based on 761 families: 337 owners and 424 renters.

3/ Not included in previous categories.

4/ Domestic - woman, home, child.

More of the urban homes than of the rural reported newspaper subscriptions but 48 percent of the farm homes as compared with 57 percent of the urban homes did not have a regular magazine subscription. Again, a smaller proportion of the tenants than of the owners had subscriptions to current magazines. Most of the families in both residence groups who were subscribing to magazines reported combination subscriptions - that is, several different types of magazines. Many of the families had bought such

Table 58.- Average number of books owned per family, by type of book, residence, and tenure, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Residence and tenure	Average number of books owned			
	Total	Fiction	Religious	Other non-fiction
Open country	52.7	12.5	4.5	15.6
Owners	41.7	16.0	5.2	20.7
Renters	18.1	7.5	3.9	6.8
Croppers	6.7	1.8	1.7	3.2
Town	42.0	19.5	6.5	18.3

Table 59.- Percentage distribution of families according to number of books owned, by residence, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Number of books owned	Percentages	
	Open country	Town
Total	100.0	100.0
None	16.4	14.7
1 - 2	13.8	11.1
3 - 7	12.9	13.2
8 - 12	11.3	15.3
13 - 24	13.2	8.6
25 - 49	14.0	14.2
50 - 99	10.3	11.1
100 or more	8.1	11.8

Table 60.- Percentages of families owning or borrowing State and Federal bulletins, and average number read, by residence and tenure, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Residence and tenure	Percentages of families owning or borrowing bulletins		Average number bulletins per family owning or borrowing	
	State	Federal	State	Federal
Open country	16.2	9.8	6.75	5.26
Owners	20.7	11.2	7.30	5.52
Renters	8.1	7.2	3.78	3.88
Croppers	5.2	6.2	3.20	5.83
Town	3.2	3.2	4.14	4.95

combinations at reduced rates. When the farm families limited their magazine subscriptions to one type, they were more apt to select the farm magazine; the urban family would select the domestic magazine.

Reading Material and Facilities

Town families also have more books of all kinds in their homes than do farm families; the average number for each group was 42 and 33 respectively (Table 58). However, farm owners have almost as many books as do town families. In few other characteristics were tenants found to be so much in contrast to the owners as in the number of books in the home. While the farm owners had an average of 41.7 books the renters and the croppers reported 18.1 and 6.7 respectively. Although the farm families had fewer books than the urban, there was slight difference between the two groups in the proportion of families with no books at all in the home: 16 percent of the former and 15 percent of the latter had no books of any type (Table 59). All of the families owned more non-fiction than fiction, many of which were text books used by the children in school.

The United States Department of Agriculture and other national and State agencies spend large sums annually on various types of educational bulletins for the farmers and other rural persons. Do the farm families read such publications? Sixteen percent of the families included in this study reported that they either owned or borrowed State bulletins during 1935, and 10 percent reported having Federal publications (Table 60). About one-fifth of the farm owners reported State bulletins and 11 percent reported Federal publications. But again the proportion of non-owners having such bulletins was very small (much less than 10 percent). The farm families who did read these bulletins which they either owned or borrowed had read an average of 6.8 State and 5.3 Federal bulletins during 1935.

Appendix

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES

Table 61.- Value per capita of all family-living goods and services consumed, by residence and tenure, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	Open country				Town		
	Total	Owners	Renters	Croppers	Total	Owners	Renters
Size of family - persons	4.2	4.0	4.7	4.8	3.5	3.1	3.8
Value per capita:							
Total value of living	\$269.0	\$312.5	\$201.3	\$149.8	\$380.6	\$502.5	\$303.4
Furnished	117.1	132.3	90.9	78.2	53.1	92.2	28.1
Purchased	151.9	180.0	110.4	71.6	327.5	410.3	275.3
Housing and maintenance	69.2	86.2	42.2	26.3	134.5	185.9	102.0
Furnished	39.0	47.4	24.4	19.6	44.2	79.5	21.6
Purchased	30.2	38.8	17.8	6.7	90.3	106.4	80.4
Food	111.5	120.5	96.5	84.1	109.4	127.5	98.1
Furnished	78.1	84.9	66.5	58.6	8.9	12.7	6.5
Purchased	33.4	35.6	30.0	25.5	100.5	114.8	91.6
Clothing	24.5	27.5	20.6	14.2	39.1	50.3	32.0
Health, births, deaths	11.7	13.7	8.7	5.5	17.5	23.7	13.4
Education	4.1	5.6	1.5	1.1	6.7	12.1	3.2
Reading	1.2	1.5	0.8	0.4	2.8	3.7	2.3
Social participation	5.4	7.0	2.9	1.4	12.8	18.6	9.0
Automobile	28.1	34.6	18.6	9.7	32.4	45.8	23.9
Incidentals	9.7	11.0	7.8	5.8	19.2	24.0	16.2
Other	3.6	4.7	1.8	1.3	6.2	10.9	3.3

Table 62.- Average value of family living and distribution of this value among principal groups of goods and services consumed, by duration of marriage of male head and homemaker, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Duration of marriage (years)		Averages														
		Number of families	Value of family living	Housing and maintenance	Food	Health	Education	Recreation	Participation	Social	Auto	Incidental	Other	Mobiles	Telephone	Other
			Total	Purchased	Unpurchased	Total	Purchased	Unpurchased	Total	Purchased	Unpurchased	Total	Purchased	Unpurchased	Total	Purchased
Open country -																
Owners:																
0 - 9	82	\$1,344	\$796	\$604	\$548	\$296	\$208	\$152	\$150	\$98	\$63	\$5	\$6	\$30	\$159	\$44
10 - 19	199	1,391	791	634	600	442	192	158	164	118	49	26	11	27	137	50
20 - 29	245	1,451	794	607	657	467	140	190	162	148	53	51	6	26	155	45
30 and over	215	1,319	707	569	612	439	130	173	144	121	63	29	6	30	127	44
Renters:																
0 - 9	74	763	384	158	379	100	58	279	116	72	30	1	3	7	61	32
10 - 19	117	1,012	576	213	436	119	94	317	154	102	50	10	4	14	102	39
20 - 29	76	1,073	600	202	473	112	90	361	164	121	44	14	5	13	103	41
30 and over	45	1,066	536	225	530	143	82	387	142	115	29	6	4	20	75	40
Croppers:																
0 - 9	47	567	279	99	288	60	39	228	103	51	23	1	1	4	33	21
10 - 19	38	800	347	133	453	101	32	352	119	76	29	8	1	8	35	30
20 - 29	26	976	484	164	492	133	31	514	155	93	42	13	3	7	92	36
30 and over	22	837	424	130	413	101	29	312	106	90	28	5	2	12	72	75
Town -																
Owners:																
0 - 9	21	1,440	1,306	434	134	94	340	399	359	143	56	3	11	52	203	73
10 - 19	48	1,832	1,569	674	263	217	457	478	432	184	75	17	12	62	191	84
20 - 29	42	2,637	2,152	892	485	425	467	646	586	281	108	126	17	106	299	123
30 and over	38	1,700	1,392	588	308	248	340	516	456	186	68	69	11	50	123	73
Renters:																
0 - 9	91	1,055	974	362	81	60	302	339	318	102	55	2	8	24	86	60
10 - 19	101	1,216	1,097	389	119	87	302	410	378	121	57	16	8	35	96	62
20 - 29	69	1,323	1,220	407	103	75	332	476	448	159	47	27	10	34	94	62
30 and over	25	1,253	1,108	417	145	96	321	431	382	141	80	6	10	44	142	68

Table 63.- Distribution of average cash receipts among principal sources of receipts, by tenure and size of farm, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

		Cash receipts 1/									
Tenure and size of farm	Number of families	: Sale of :		: Wages of - :		: Supplemental receipts from -					
		: Total 2/3 farm :	: products :	: Operator :	: members :	: Boards :	: Borrowed :	: Relief :	: Other 2/	: Other 2/	
Owners	1,176	\$1,183	\$731	\$164	\$ 99	\$13	\$ 8	-		\$168	
Under 3 acres	36	790	50	414	144	1	-	-		181	
3 - 9	78	727	126	355	87	12	2	1		144	
10 - 19	88	717	118	291	117	11	11	-		169	
20 - 49	189	834	341	211	126	10	-	-		146	
50 - 99	287	927	592	118	75	2	6	-		134	
100 - 174	265	1,165	796	112	73	4	12	-		168	
175 - 259	128	1,838	1,392	77	140	9	21	-		199	
260 and over	105	2,622	2,036	111	111	80	7	-		277	
Tenants	554	680	423	143	49	9	5	-		51	
Under 3 acres	50	767	16	557	70	-	-	-		124	
3 - 9	60	598	89	320	85	47	5	-		52	
10 - 19	77	442	222	121	45	2	7	-		45	
20 - 49	124	541	365	87	43	5	8	-		33	
50 - 99	104	720	557	67	41	5	7	-		43	
100 - 174	84	776	658	29	44	8	5	-		32	
175 - 259	29	814	707	38	33	4	4	1		27	
260 and over	26	1,455	1,223	63	33	3	-	-		133	

1/ Cash receipts as here used do not conform to the usual concept of income inasmuch as borrowings and cash relief have been included. However, the composition of this table enables a deduction of these items if desired.

2/ This total does not include funds from reserve.

2/ Other receipts comprise income from people not living in the family, net profits from other than farm business, from farms rented to others or real property, income from monetary legacies, gifts, interest on dividends, insurance, net profit from personal property, and all other cash receipts.

Table 64.- Percentage distribution of average cash receipts among principal sources of receipts, by tenure and size of farm
6 Virginia counties, 1935 ^{1/}

Tenure and size of farm	Cash receipts ^{2/}					
	: Sale of		: Wages of -		: Supplemental from -	
	: Total	: farm	: Other	: Boarders, borrowed,	: Other	
	: ^{3/}	: products	: Operator	: members	: and relief ^{4/}	: ^{5/}
Owners	100	62	14	8	2	14
Under 3 acres	100	6	53	13	<u>6/</u>	23
5 - 9	100	17	49	12	<u>2</u>	20
10 - 19	100	16	41	16	3	24
20 - 49	100	41	25	15	1	18
50 - 99	100	64	13	8	1	14
100 - 174	100	68	10	6	1	15
175 - 259	100	76	4	7	2	11
260 and over	100	78	4	4	3	11
Tenants	100	62	21	7	2	8
Under 3 acres	100	2	73	9	-	16
5 - 9	100	15	53	14	9	9
10 - 19	100	50	28	10	2	10
20 - 49	100	68	16	8	2	6
50 - 99	100	77	9	6	2	6
100 - 174	100	85	4	5	2	4
175 - 259	100	87	5	4	1	3
260 and over	100	84	5	2	<u>6/</u>	9

^{1/} Number of families same as in Table 63.

^{2/} Cash receipts as here used do not conform to the usual concept of income inasmuch as borrowings and cash relief have been included. However, the composition of this table enables a deduction of these items if desired.

^{3/} Does not include funds from reserve.

^{4/} These three sources were combined because the percentages were so small.

^{5/} Other receipts comprise income from people not living in the family, net profits from other than farm business, from farms rented to others or real property, income from monetary legacies, gifts, interest on dividends, insurance, net profit from personal property, and all other cash receipts.

^{6/} Less than 0.5 of 1 percent.

Table 65.- Comparison of average value of family living and percentage distribution of this value among principal groups of goods and services consumed by open-country families studied in 4 Appalachian counties, Great Lakes Cut-Over Area, 6 counties of South Dakota, 1/ and 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	Average value of family living			Percentage distribution		
	Virginia:Appalachian:Cut-Over:South Dakota	Virginia:Appalachian:Cut-Over:South Dakota	Virginia:Appalachian:Cut-Over:South Dakota	Virginia:Appalachian:Cut-Over:South Dakota	Virginia:Appalachian:Cut-Over:South Dakota	Virginia:Appalachian:Cut-Over:South Dakota
Total value of family living	\$1,130	\$584	\$1,031	\$1,111	100.0	100.0
Furnished	492	293	418	410	50.2	36.9
Purchased	638	291	613	701	49.8	63.1
Housing and maintenance	291	104	266	261	17.8	25.8
Furnished	164	56	149	123	53.9	56.1
Purchased	127	48	117	138	46.1	43.9
Food	468	322	446	484	55.0	43.3
Furnished	328	237	269	287	73.6	60.2
Purchased	140	85	177	197	26.4	39.8
Clothing	103	69	88	96	11.9	8.5
Health, births, and deaths	49	26	39	50	4.5	4.5
Advancement	45	15	28	42	2.6	3.7
Automobile	118	16	97	120	2.7	10.8
Incidentals and Other	56	32	67	58	5.5	6.5
						5.2

1/ Loomis, C. P., and Dodson, L. S., Standards of Living in Four Southern Appalachian Mountain Counties, Social Research Report No. X, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., October 1938; Loomis, C. P., Lister, Joseph J., and Davidson, Dwight M., Jr., Standards of Living in the Great Lakes Cut-Over Area, Social Research Report No. XIII, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C., September 1938; and Kumlien, W. F., Loomis, C. P., et al., The Standard of Living of Farm and Village Families in Six South Dakota Counties, 1935, Bulletin No. 320, Agricultural Experiment Station, Brookings, March 1938.

METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

Description of Categories Constituting the Total Value of Family Living

Studies of family living are based largely upon a monetary evaluation of the goods and services consumed for family-living purposes. In this report the various goods and services are grouped in seven principal categories, and a differentiation is made between those obtained by actual cash purchase and those furnished. The total value of family living is the sum of all the various items, both purchased and furnished, that are listed categorically.

Housing and Maintenance

The category "Housing and Maintenance" includes cash rent, fuel, furnishings, household operation, repairs, insurance, taxes, and interest payments on the dwelling. Most of these items have been grouped under five main subdivisions: (1) Furnishings and equipment, (2) Additions and alterations, (3) Fuel, (4) Other household expense, and (5) Rent.

Earlier studies of this sort have usually ascertained the replacement value of the house and then designated an arbitrary proportion of this value as rent furnished. Cash payments, such as those for interest on mortgages, taxes, and insurance, have not generally been considered as belonging to the category of rent. Consequently there could be no fine discrimination between the part of the value of housing that was furnished and the part that represented an actual cash expenditure.

In this report the value of rent is divided into two parts: (1) that which was furnished, and (2) that which represented a cash payment. In order to accomplish this breakdown, the item "rent equivalent" has been introduced. Rent equivalent is composed of cash payments covering interest on mortgages and property taxes as well as expenditures for repairs and insurance on the dwelling. Where a farm was concerned, interest and tax payments were often made in a lump sum for the entire farm property. Part of such a payment was obviously for the dwelling and should be considered a part of the family living, while the remaining portion should be charged to the operation of the farm. An apportionment was made, therefore, on the basis of the ratio that existed between the replacement value of the dwelling and the total value of the farm and buildings.

When actual cash payments were made by a family for use of the dwelling, these payments were designated as "cash rent." But when cash rent was paid for an entire farm with no specific amount indicated as rental for the house, this sum was also apportioned between family living and farm operation by applying the ratio just described. The amount allocated to family living was then entered as cash rent for the dwelling.

It has been assumed in making this study that 10 percent of the replacement value of the dwelling represents the total value of rent. Cash

rent and rent equivalent include only actual cash expenditures, and together they constitute rent purchased. Rent furnished, then, is the difference between the amount of rent purchased and the figure that represents 10 percent of the replacement value of the house. Or, in other words, rent is the sum of rent purchased (rent equivalent and cash rent) and rent furnished, and equals 10 percent of the replacement value of the dwelling.

Fuel consumed by the family for heating and lighting, which comprises another subdivision of the generic category "Housing and Maintenance," also may have been either purchased or furnished by the farm. Cash expenditures for the purchase of fuel were recorded as "housing and maintenance purchased." The value of fuel furnished by the farm, which was determined by what the interviewed families claimed fuel would have cost had it been actually purchased, was added to the value of housing and maintenance furnished. (Fuel received as a gift was excluded from the computation.) Any cash expenditures entailed in hauling or otherwise procuring the fuel furnished were treated as an expenditure for the purchase of fuel.

Food

Foodstuffs produced on the farm (or acquired by direct appropriation from the immediate area) and consumed at home were included in the total value of family living as food furnished. (Food received as a gift was not included.) The families interviewed were asked to estimate what these goods would have cost in local stores, and what they would have brought had they been sold. 67/ The amount for which these goods could have been sold was always estimated as less than that necessary to buy similar goods at the store. In this analysis the purchase price was used in evaluating food furnished, and the sale price was used merely as a check.

Clothing

Only actual cash expenditures for clothing were used to show the value of clothing consumed during the schedule year. Although much of the clothing for female members of the families may have been made at home, no account has been taken of the value that was added by this labor.

Health, Births, and Deaths

As in the case of clothing, only cash expenditures were enumerated. This category included expenditures for doctors' fees, hospitalization, medicines, and any services made necessary by death in the family.

Advancement

Any expenditures for reading material, social participation and recreation, and formal education were classified as advancement expendi-

67/ Black, John D., and Zimmerman, C. C., op. cit., p. 13 ff.

tures. Again, only the actual amounts of cash expended by the family were enumerated.

Automobile and Truck Expenditures

In any farm family the motor vehicle, whether car or truck, serves a dual role - it adds in the farm business and provides a family conveyance. It is difficult to determine what percentage of the expenditures for the car or truck, as the case may be, should be assigned to family-living costs. Although the motor-vehicle owners interviewed in this study were asked to apportion such expenditures between the farm and family living, satisfactory data could not be obtained readily. As a result, the procedure adopted in tabulation was to consider all expenses for an automobile as chargeable to family living and all expenses for a motor truck as chargeable to farm operation. An exception to the latter statement must be noted, however. When a family owned a truck that was used for some non-farm business such as general hauling, the resultant expenses were not included in farm operation; instead, they were used in computing the net income from this non-farm business and only the final computation, entered as a part of cash receipts, appeared in the tabulation.

Expenditures for Incidentals and for Items Classified as "Other"

Cash expenditures for articles of personal care, gifts to persons outside the family, beverages, etc., have been classified as "incidental expenditures." Personal taxes and expenditures for transportation (exclusive of travel for business purposes) are designated as "other expenditures." Any payment on the principal of a mortgage or other indebtedness, as well as the refinancing charges often incidental to these payments, were apportioned between the farm and the family living in the same manner as interest payments; hence, the amounts chargeable to family living in such instances have also been included in this category.

Enumeration of Debts and Expenditures

In the enumeration of the value of goods and services purchased, both the amount of the total debt incurred and the amount of cash actually paid on the obligation were recorded. In the event the family made any payments on debts incurred for items bought prior to the schedule year, this amount was also recorded. But in the analysis only the actual cash outlays were used and no cognizance was taken of that part of the debts incurred for purchases of goods during the schedule year but not paid during this period. It was assumed that the amount paid on old debts would approximately balance the amount of current debts not paid during the schedule year, or carried over.